

ISLAM IN THE INDIAN SUBCONTINENT

ANNEMARIE SCHIMMEL

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HERAUSGEGEBEN VON J. GONDA

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INDIAN SUBCONTINENT

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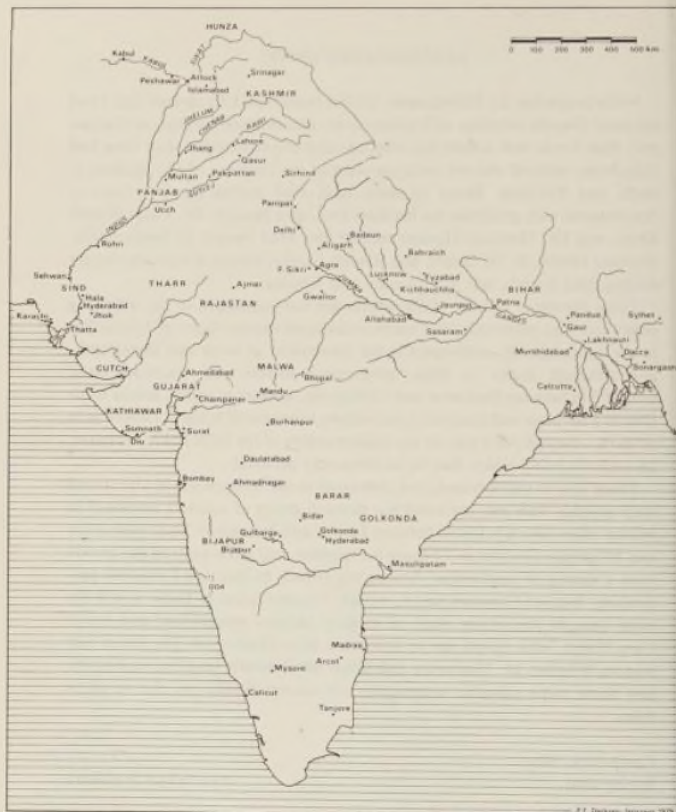
While preparing the bibliography for this handbook I discovered that I had personal friendly relations with almost every contemporary writer, so that not only their books and articles but meetings and correspondence with them had shaped my outlook and my understanding of the situation of the Muslims in India and Pakistan. Many of them have died during the last years—I remembered with gratitude the brothers Dr. Zakir Husain, Dr. Yusuf Husain Khan, and Dr. Mahmud Husain; further Dr. Abid Husain of Jamia Millia. Mumtaz Hasan, S. M. Ikram, and Khalifa 'Abdul Hakim are also no longer among their friends, nor is Professor Aziz Ahmad.

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ANNEMARIE SCHIMMEL



INTRODUCTION

In the year 1289, the poet Amir Khusrau, 'God's Turk' and 'Parrot of India', composed in Delhi his historical poem *Qirān as-sa'dain*, in which he sings the praise of India, the home of true Islamic life:

Happy be Hindustan with its splendor of religion,
Where the *shari'a* enjoys perfect honour and dignity.
In learning now Delhi rivals Bukhara;
Islam has been made manifest by the rulers.
From Ghazna to every shore of the ocean
You see Islam in its glory everywhere.
Muslims, here, belong to the Hanafi creed,
But sincerely respect all the four schools.
They have no enmity with the Shafites and no fondness for the Zaidites;
With heart and soul are they devoted to the path of the community and
the *sunna*.
It is a wonderful land, producing Muslims and favouring religion,
Where even the fish comes out of the stream as a Sunnite!

Six hundred years later, in 1879, another poet in the city of Delhi had to complain of the destitute situation of the Muslims in India: Hali's *Musaddas* accuses the inhabitants of the Subcontinent of having deserted Islam and forgotten the glorious days of old:

For now our every deed ignoble shows
Our actions are the meanest of the low,
The fair name of our fathers is eclipsed,
Our very steps disgrace the place we dwell.
Dishonoured is the honour of the past,
Arabia's greatness is beyond recall...

The historian who tries to give a survey of the history and situation of Islam in Indo-Pakistan is faced with constant contradictions. On the one hand he admires the cultural activities of devoted mystical leaders, of orders and fraternities which formed the nuclei of spiritual life in the Middle Ages and won over many Hindus to the Islamic faith. On the other hand he deplores the constant succession of wars, feuds, and display of the darkest sides of political history; a history of kings who all too often ordered their followers 'to relieve an enemy's (or relative's) body from the weight of his head', yet who adorned India with some of the most grandiose sacred buildings in the world of Islam. Popular religion, often tinged by or almost blended with customs from Hindu neighbours, stands side by side with lofty reformist movements of theologians

¹ S. M. Ikram, *Armaghān-i Pāk*, Karachi 1954, p. 113.

who fought for the purity of Islamic monotheism, a concept which was interpreted, in turn, by some mystical thinkers as a parallel to the *advaita* of Hindu thought. Complicated mystical systems were echoed in the highflown Persian poetry of the urban writers, and the longing of the soul for union with the Divine Beloved, or with the Prophet Muhammad, was expressed in simple popular forms in the regional languages all over the country to win the hearts of the rural population. Later, the fight against the non-Muslims who governed the country, as is visible in the history of the 19th century, goes parallel with the development of a modern western-oriented liberalism.

The tension inherent in the many-sided and colourful Indian Islam seems to be expressed best in the two sons of Shahjahan and Mumtaz Mahal, whose mausoleum, the Taj Mahal, embodies everyone's dream of an ideal India: Dara Shikoh the mystic and Aurangzeb the practical, orthodox minded ruler reflect those trends, which were to result finally in the partition of the Subcontinent in 1947.

Literature on the subject is equally equivocal. The situation has been depicted by ideologists of the Pakistan movement (I. H. Qureshi), by advocates of the Muslims of India who spoke against partition (M. Mujeeb), by critical missionaries (M. Titus), and by Hindu historians. Most of the leading figures in the long history of Indian Islam have been praised or blamed in turn and have been appropriated by the representatives of different historical, religious or political currents.

To describe such a complicated web of facts in a restricted number of pages seems next to impossible; and this author, like her predecessors, has also to emphasize certain aspects more than others which deserve more detailed treatment. Emphasis has been laid on a number of religious personalities who seem to personify the different trends of Indian Islam rather than on a 'sociological' analysis. Completeness could not be achieved; if the major trends of the various Islamic movements in the Subcontinent and the 'Islamic feeling' are described approximately correctly, it will be sufficient.

CHAPTER ONE

ADVENT AND CONSOLIDATION OF ISLAM IN THE SUBCONTINENT

The reactions of the first Muslim expedition that ventured into the border-zone of the Subcontinent have been succinctly described by Baladhuri: when the Arab foray returned and was asked by the Caliph 'Uthman about the country they had seen, they replied:

Water scarce; fruit inferior; robbers impudent; the army if small, likely to be lost, if numerous, likely to perish from hunger and thirst...

and the Caliph, amazed, asked whether his soldiers were reciting poetry or giving information...¹

Makran, where 'Uthman's soldiers had reached, was certainly not the most inviting part of the future Muslim empire in India; and some smaller invasions notwithstanding, it took another seventy years until a major attempt was made to enter the Subcontinent. For to come to India seemed imperative—did the Prophet not say:

God saved two groups of my companions from hellfire: a group which will attack India, and a group which will be (at the end of times) with 'Isa ibn Maryam'.²

Indian local tradition speaks of much earlier contacts: the South Indian story of king Shakarwati tells that this ruler—like Raja Bhoja of Ujjain—had been converted to Islam when the miracle of the Splitting of the Moon (Sura 54/1) occurred.³ Indeed, the first Arab Muslim settlers on the southern and western coasts of India considerably preceded the advent of the imperial armies in more northern areas: some Arab families migrated to India during the time of al-Hajjaj, others some 150 years later. A Tamil copper plate, given to Arab settlers in 875 by the king of Madura, granted them asylum.⁴ Their descendants were destined to play an important role in South India.

¹ Baladhuri, *Kitab futuḥ al-buldān*, ed. S. Munajjid, p. 530.

² Nasā'ī, *Sunan*, IV 43, quot. in Y. Friedmann, 'A Contribution to the early history of Islam in India', *Studies in memory of Gaston Wiet*, ed. M. Rosen-Ayalon, Jerusalem 1977.

³ Y. Friedmann, 'Qissat Shakarwati Farmād', *Israel Oriental Studies* V 1975, goes into the literary tradition of these and related stories which apparently reflect the tendency of the South Indians to date their history back as far as possible. As he quotes (p. 245) the statement of F. Buchanan, *A Journey from Madras through the countries of Mysore, Canare and Malabar*, London 1807, II 421: "Being of Arabic extraction, they look upon themselves as of more honorable birth than the Tartar Muslims of North India who of course are of a contrary opinion".

⁴ M. Y. Kokan, *Arabic and Persian in Carnatic*, Madras 1974, p. 53.

Another legend that attempts at connecting India and the cradle of Islam is that of Abu'r-Rida Ratan, a Hindu convert who claimed shortly after 1200 that he had heard of the Prophet at the age of sixteen, had gone to Medina, fought together with him, and was granted longevity by his blessings so that he now, after 600 years, was able to transmit authentic *ḥadīth*. He died in 1243 and is buried in Bhatinda, District Patiala, where he is still venerated as a saint; and the traditions related by him (*rataniyyāt*) have been collected by serious scholars such as Ibn Hajar al-ʿAsqalani.⁵ These legendary figures are part of the tendency to relate Indian Islam to the very beginnings of Islamic history. Veneration of the tombs of some of Muhammad's companions in the South belongs to the same trend to prove the antiquity of the Muslim presence in the Subcontinent. But historically speaking, the advent of Islam in the Subcontinent begins with the conquest of Sind in 711-12. The 17-year-old Muhammad ibn al-Qasim had been sent to the Indus delta to avenge some Muslim women who had fallen into the hands of pirates, and with his army he soon conquered the area along the river up to Multan. The indigenous, largely Buddhist population was dissatisfied with the Brahman ruler Dahīr, whose family had only recently assumed power; and it seems that the Buddhists did not impede but rather facilitated Muhammad's campaign. The *Chachnāma*, based on both Madaʿini's lost chronicle and Indian sources, gives a detailed account of the conquest, which, as the wise men of the country claimed, had been foretold by the stars.

Muhammad ibn al-Qasim did not attempt mass conversion; he left the people to their ancient faith, except in the case of those who wanted to become Muslims, as Biruni rightly states.⁶ It would indeed have been difficult for the small minority, which was operating at such a distance from Damascus, the centre of government, to impose new religio-social patterns upon a country of a very different culture. Therefore the young commander did not try to change the social structure of Sind and acted very prudently when progressing farther north. Baladhuri quotes the statement which he made at Alor, close to the strategically important straits of the Indus (near present-day Rohri):

The temples shall be unto us like the churches of the Christians, the synagogues of the Jews, and the fire temples of the Magians.⁷

⁵ Brockelmann, *GAL Suppl.* II 626; J. Horowitz, 'Bābā Ratan, the saint of Bhatinda', *J. Punjab Hist. Soc.* II 1910.

⁶ Al-Birūnī, *Alberuni's India*... Engl. translation by Ed. Sachau, London 1888, 2nd ed. 1910, p. 11.

⁷ Baladhuri, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, p. 538.—Interestingly, one finds attempts to connect the Brahmans, *barāhima*, with the prophet Ibrāhīm; the defenders of this view often establish a connection between Indian fire rituals and the pyre which became 'cool and pleasant' (Sura 21/69)

This means that he regarded Buddhists and Hindus as equal to the *ahl al-kitab*. He therefore levied the *jizya* on them, but did not impose it on the Brahmans, a custom that was followed by most of the later Indo-Muslim rulers. In Multan, the 'city of gold', Muhammad did not destroy the famous Temple of the Sun but founded, as in other places, a mosque. His successors followed this practice after Muhammad had returned to the Iraq, where he was treacherously murdered.

One of these mosques, which has been excavated lately in Bhambhore, which was thought to be the ancient Daibul, the place where the Muslims landed first, follows the Middle Eastern type of the court mosque; it has an engraved inscription written in a simple Kufic with a tendency to decoratively splitting the letter-ends. The main city in Sind was Mansura. Built probably in the 740's or 750's, it has been described by Ibn Khurdadhbih as 'one mile long and one mile broad', like an island, surrounded by a branch of the Mihran (Indus). The people were, as he thinks, Quraish who looked like Iraqis, while the rulers had adopted the Indian style in their costume. Ibn Hauqal and Idrisi too speak of the great and populous city of Mansura, a centre of commerce with fertile environs, well-stocked markets and cheap meat and fruits. The city was built, as can be seen from the ruins to which Mansura is now reduced, of brick; tile and plaster were also used. Another city, Mahfuza, was built somewhat later opposite Mansura. Mas'udi praised both Mansura and Multan, stating that Arabic and Sindhi were spoken there. An exact description of the early Arab cities in the lower Indus area is difficult because the river changed its course several times during the centuries so that the ancient accounts and measures are of little use. But even if the material centres of early Sind cannot be located exactly, its cultural heritage is still extant. India has long been famous in the Near Eastern world for its scientific achievements, and Sind served as a kind of relay through which knowledge of Indian mathematics and astronomy was conveyed to the central Islamic lands.

Since the newly conquered country needed religious instruction, a number of scholars devoted themselves to collecting and teaching *ḥadīth*; the long lists of scholars with the *nisba* Mansuri, Daibuli, Sindhi, etc. in biographical dictionaries show that the percentage of traditionists either living in or hailing from Sind was quite remarkable.⁸ Buzurg ibn Shahriyar, one of the first travellers to visit that area, tells in his *ʿAjāʾib al-hind* that Mahruk ibn Rayik,

for Ibrāhīm. For an interpretation of the *ṣuḥuf Ibrāhīm*, mentioned in Sura 87/19, in the Indian, especially Vedic tradition, see: M. Hamidullah, *Le Coran*, traduction intégrale et notes, Paris 1959, p. 596.

⁸ M. Ishaq, *India's contribution to the Study of ḥadīth*, Dacca 1955. For a critical view see Y. Friedmann, 'The beginnings of Islamic learning in Sind', BSOAS XXXVII 1974.

the king of Ra, had asked the ruler of Mansura in 270/883-4 to send someone to instruct him in Islamic subjects, and a learned man went to (the unidentified city) Ra and, after versifying some aspects of Islamic law, began to translate the Koran for the Raja, beginning with Sura Yâsin.⁹

To what extent deeper, mystically tinged religion was alive at that time in Sind is unknown. The origin of Abu 'Ali as-Sindi, who instructed Bayezid Bistami in mystical doctrines, is a matter of doubt, and he may have been related rather to a village by the name of Sind close to Bistam than to the Indus valley. One should remember however that the great mystic al-Hallaj, who was to become the 'martyr of divine love' (executed in Baghdad in 922) visited Sind in about 905 on his missionary journey. His enemies ascribed this journey to his wish to learn such magic as the rope trick in India, long famous as the home of dark-coloured magicians... Hallaj's visit apparently did not yield much fruit at that time; but his name—or rather his patronymic 'Mansur'—is known today to everyone, even in the remotest corners of the country, since Sindhi as well as Panjabi mystical folk poetry has chosen him as the exemplar of those who love God so intensely that their overflowing ecstasy compels them to unveil the secret of all-embracing union; as a result they have to suffer martyrdom at the hand of the orthodox mullas.

One of the reasons for Hallaj's persecution in Baghdad however was not so much his divine love, but rather the highly political fact that during his journey through Sind he might have been in touch with the Carmatians who, coming from Bahrain, had just settled in Multan and the northern part of Sind. Although Sind proper was placed under the rule of Ya'qub the Saffarid in 902, the Carmatians, or Isma'ilis, extended their ruler farther south to Mansura, where Mahmud of Ghazna found an Isma'ili prince. It has even been suggested that the independent dynasty of the Sumro in Sind, who ruled till the mid 14th century, may have been Carmatians, since they maintained unusual customs. But the question is still open. From Multan, coins were issued in the name of the Fatimid caliph toward the end of the tenth century, thus acknowledging him as the legal sovereign. Strangely enough, the early Isma'ilis in Multan destroyed the Temple of the Sun which Muhammad ibn al-Qasim had spared—quite contrary to their later policy of creating a bridge between the two great communities of the Subcontinent. They also closed down the mosque built by Muhammad ibn al-Qasim 'from hatred against anything that had been done under the Umayyad caliphs', as Biruni (id. p. 117) states.

Mahmud of Ghazna, champion of Sunni Islam, reached Multan in 1005, and his court poet 'Unsuri sings:

⁹ Buzurg ibn Shahryâr, *Kitâb 'ajâ'ib al-Hind*, trad. française C. M. Devic, Paris 1886, p. 2.

On his road to Multan he took two hundred forts,
each of which was a hundred times stronger than Khaibar!¹⁰

During his first attack Mahmud was content with extracting tribute from the ruler, but after six years he returned to Multan, slaughtering and mutilating many 'heretics'. In spite of this persecution, the Carmatians remained active for almost two more centuries until they went underground, to re-emerge later as successful missionaries.

With Mahmud, the 'helper of the Abbasid caliph' the Islamization of larger parts of northwestern India begins. From the year 1000 onward he invaded the Subcontinent seventeen times before dying in 1030, and his most famous achievement was the destruction of the temple of Somnath in Kathiawar, which was plundered during the sixteenth expedition in 1026. By this act, Mahmud has become a hero in the eyes of the Muslims, but in the Hindu tradition he came to represent the arch enemy.

The spoils which Mahmud brought from India have disappeared; however a work that owes its origin to his Indian campaigns still survives: it is Biruni's *Kitāb al-hind*. Biruni, born in 973 in Khwarizm, had joined the court of Ghazna in 1017 after working in Gurgan; staying for some time in India, he used his knowledge of Greek philosophy, mathematics and sciences and his inquisitive mind to study the life and thought of the Hindus. The result is the first objective study ever made of a foreign culture. But despite his deep understanding of the philosophical implications of the various Hindu schools of thought and his general objectivity, even Biruni could not help mentioning the 'innate perversity of the Hindu character'¹¹ which showed itself in doing many things opposite to Muslims; and he praises God that these customs have been abolished among those who have become Muslims. The major difficulty in appreciating the Hindus was the caste system:

We Muslims, of course, stand entirely on the other side of the question, considering all men as equal, except in piety; and this is the greatest obstacle which prevents any approach or understanding between Hindus and Muslims.¹²

In his complaint that the Hindu considers the Muslim to be *mleccha*, 'impure' he seems to predict the communal tensions of the 20th century, whose representatives largely made use of the relevant statements of this medieval scholar.

¹⁰ *Diwān-i Ustād-i 'Unsurī-yi Balkhī*, ed. Muḥammad Dabīr Siyāqī, Tehran 1342sh/1963, p. 121, verse 1342.

¹¹ al-Birūnī/Sachau, *India* p. 91.

¹² al-Birūnī/Sachau, *India* p. 271.

In the expanding Ghaznawid empire, the capital Lahore (1031) developed into a veritable centre of Islamic learning after the last Hindu rebellion was quelled in 1042. The name of Shaikh Muhammad Isma'il al-Bukhari al-Lahori (d. 1056), who reached Lahore before the Ghaznawid conquest, stands for the first Muslim scholar to preach Islam and to propagate the study of *ḥadīth* in the northwestern part of India—a field that was cultivated throughout the centuries. In *fiqh*, the Ghaznawids followed the Shafiite school; the Ghorids who succeeded them were Hanafites, and this *madhhab* remained predominant in India, except for the 'Arab' South.

During the 11th century important mystical thinkers, mainly in Iran, composed basic works on Sufi thought and ethics; one of them, 'Alī ibn 'Uthman al-Jullabi al-Hujwiri from the Ghazna area, reached Lahore after long wanderings and finally settled there and died around 1071. His *Kashf al-mahjūb* is one of the most important sources for the history of early Sufi theory and practices and, at the same time, one of the first theoretical works on Sufism written in the Persian language. Hujwiri who followed the early ascetics in his preference for celibacy soon assumed fame as a saint, and under the name of Data Ganj Bakhsh he is regarded as the first patron saint of Lahore. One believed that he had the 'supreme authority over the saints of India, and that no new saint entered the country without first obtaining permission from his spirit.'¹³ His tomb, often renewed, and lately decorated with silver doors (a gift from the Shah of Iran) is still a frequently visited place of worship for the Pakistanis. It is even said that Muhammad Iqbal conceived of the idea of a separate Muslim homeland in the Subcontinent while meditating at Data Sahib's tomb;¹⁴ some of Iqbal's verses are engraved in the white marble panels of the shrine.

It seems that more or less isolated Muslim settlements existed in various places in the Gangetic plains, such as Benares, Eastern Oudh, and even Bihar—at least local tradition claims that Muslim shrines date from pre-Ghorid time, although it would be difficult to find epigraphic evidence. One of these early shrines is that of Bibi Pakdamanan in Lahore, attributed to seven chaste ladies who reached India in the seventh century.

Lahore, where Persian-writing Muslim poets such as Abu'l-Faraj Runi and Mas'ud ibn Sa'd lived during the 11th and 12th centuries, was overrun by the next wave of conquerors, the Ghorids, who again descended from Afghanistan, in 1181. It is difficult to believe Hasan Nizami's statement in his chronicle *Tāj al-ma'āthir* that at that time in Lahore, 'out of every hundred

¹³ John A. Subhan, *Sufism*, 2nd ed. Lucknow 1960, p. 129.

¹⁴ Masoodul Hasan, *Data Ganj Bakhsh*, Lahore 1972, Introduction.

persons ninety were scholars, and nine out of ten interpreters of the Koran...'.¹⁵ Mu'izzuddin Ghori went as far south as Multan and Uch, which he wrested in 1175 from the Carmatians, who had ruled there with a brief interruption during Mahmud's days, for nearly three centuries, and who were finally responsible for his assassination.

The Ghorids and their military slaves were to open the way farther south-east. Mu'izzuddin conquered Delhi and Ajmer (1192) and had extended Muslim supremacy to Qannauj and Gwalior, when he was killed in 1206 on the bank of the Indus. And as early as 1202 Bakhtiar Muhammad Khalji overran Bihar and established himself in Bengal. K. A. Nizami has pointed out that the resistance against the Muslim invaders came

from the privileged classes and the Rajput aristocracy. Had the Indian masses resisted the establishment of Turkish rule in India, the Ghorids would not have been able to retain even an inch of Indian territory.¹⁶

The fact that the majority of the Indian population was excluded from military training, as well as the immobility of the Indian armies, facilitated success for the swift and well-trained Turkish troops. The masses, who largely lived in rural areas, felt but little the change of government, for the *shari'ca* did not interfere with life in the villages, nor did it bring about any change in the caste system. The land administration remained by and large the same, and the Hindu merchants and moneylenders were as unaffected by the new rulers as were the Jews in the Arab countries after the advent of Islam. In dealing with the situation of the country the ulema's attitude was predominantly determined by what they found in the books of *fiqh* which had been written in a completely different environment, i.e., the Arab world. 'No Indo-Muslim scholar of the 13th century sought to study the problems of the Indian Musulmans and their relation with the Hindus in the light of the conditions operating this country';¹⁷—so much so that a historian like Fakhri Mudabbir 'might talk about Jews and Christians, Sabians and Zoroastrians, but makes absolutely no mention of the vast majority of the Hindu population.' As Peter Hardy remarks sarcastically: for the Muslim historian 'the Hindus...are never interesting in themselves, but only as converts, as capitation tax payers, or as corpses.'¹⁸ Hindu authors tend to regard some discriminatory measures against the Hindus—even the imposition of the *jizya*—as outrageous, while in

¹⁵ K. A. Nizami, *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India during the 13th Century*, Bombay 1961, p. 265; for the *Taj al-ma'athir* see Storey, *Persian Literature*, Nr. 664.

¹⁶ Nizami, *Religion and Politics*, p. 80.

¹⁷ Nizami, *Religion and Politics*, p. 317 f.

¹⁸ Peter Hardy, *Historians of Medieval India*, London 1960, p. 113 f.

reality they were treated exactly as Christians and Jews were in the Middle East.¹⁹

The major changes took place in the cities which the Muslims founded or enlarged, and it was here that the Hindu workers and artisans were exposed to caste-free Islam and were in part attracted by the ideal of 'social oneness'; for the Islamic *shari'at* gave them more possibilities for development than the Hindu tradition. Thus, the cities between Lahore, Lakhnauti and Sonargaon in East Bengal became, so to speak, little 'islands of Islamization, where labourers and artisans, or in general the low caste and non-caste people might benefit from the new situation.'²⁰ Hence we hear of conversions on a larger scale, of the weavers, for instance. Islamization may be regarded in the beginning largely as a matter of social change in the urban centres, and only later did the rural areas begin to feel the impact of the new order. For, as M. Mujeeb rightly states, 'Muslim civilization was urban... Urbanisation, therefore, may be regarded as a Muslim contribution to Indian life.'²¹

The first of the so-called 'Slave Kings', Qutbuddin Aibek, founded his independent kingdom in 1206 in Lahore. Then he proceeded to Delhi. Spoils from twenty-seven temples were used to build the Quwwat ul-Islam mosque in Delhi-Lalkot, whose minaret, the Qutub Minar, still stands as an immortal witness to the greatness of early Islamic presence in India. One century later, Amir Khusrau describes in poetical metaphors the destruction of Hindu temples for the sake of their transformation into mosques:

Wherever a temple had girt up its loins for the worship of an idol, the tongue of the pick-axes with an elegant discourse dug out the foundation of unbelief from its heart, so that the temple at once prostrated itself in gratefulness...²²

Aibek also enlarged the Adhai din ka jhonpra, the great and elegant seven-vaulted mosque in Ajmer which Mu'izzuddin Ghori had built and which, along with the buildings in the Qutub area, is one of the few monuments in Muslim India where a highly refined plaited Kufic is used for long inscriptions.

Qutbuddin Aibek, first educated as a slave by a *qāḍī* in Nishapur, had acquired some religious knowledge and was a good reciter of the Koran. His former slave and son-in-law, Iltutmish, who succeeded him in 1210, was very concerned about the proper performance of the prescribed ritual. He even had

¹⁹ Cf. Peter Hardy's remark in *EI*, 2nd ed. II p. 566 that the problem of *jizya*—a term that is used in early sources rather loosely—'provoked more emotion than scientific study'.

²⁰ Nizami, *Religion and Politics*, p. 85.

²¹ M. Mujeeb, *Islamic Influence on Indian Society*, Meerut 1972, p. X. For a recent statistic verification of this fact see A. B. Mukerjee, 'The Muslim population of Uttar Pradesh, India. A Spatial Interpretation', *IC* XLVII 1973.

²² Amir Khusrau, *Khazā'in al-futūḥ*, transl. Waheed Mirza, Lahore 1975, p. 14.

special arrangements made for the performances of prayers etc. during his campaigns. It is said that as a youth he had gained access to the Sufi masters Shihabuddin Suhrawardi and Auhaduddin Kirmani, one of whom had predicted that he would become a king. Even though we have to take this story, told by a Sufi teacher, with a grain of salt, it indicates Iltutmish's interest in mystical movements, which grew stronger in India during his reign. He accorded a warm welcome to the Chishti saint Qutbuddin Bakhtiar Kaki and to the Suhrawardi missionary Shah Jalaluddin Tabrizi who was on his way to Bengal.

One of Iltutmish's campaigns was directed against Uch and Multan, places which were still in the hands of the Ghorid governor Qubacha. Both cities, along with Bhakkar, were centres of learning; in Bhakkar, the *Chachnāma*, that invaluable chronicle of the Muslim conquest of Sind, was 'taken from the curtain of Arabic and translated into Persian' after its manuscript had been discovered. Compared with the slightly later historical works written by the historians of the Delhi Sultanate, it seems to reflect a more lenient policy towards the Hindus than was practised in the new capital.²³ The court of Qubacha became a refuge for scholars who left Iran during the Mongol invasion. The literateur 'Aufr composed some of his works there, but he, like the preacher and historian Minhaj as-Siraj were taken to Delhi after Iltutmish had conquered the area. That happened, however, only after the young fugitive Khwarizmshah had left the Indus Valley, for Iltutmish was wise enough not to interfere with Genghis Khan, who reached the Indus in 1221 in pursuit of the Khwarizmshah who mainly dealt with Qubacha. It is said that Baha'uddin Zakariya of Multan, the Suhrawardi saint, invited Iltutmish to his province because he had, for some reason, a grudge against Qubacha. The unlucky governor, fleeing from the Delhi troops, drowned himself in the Indus.

As Uch had been famous for its Feroziyya *madrasa*, Iltutmish too took measures to found *madrasas* in Delhi and Badaun, called Mu'izziyya after the title of his later master, Mu'izzuddin Ghorid. In 1229 he obtained a deed of investiture from the Abbasid caliph.

Delhi—proudly styled *hazrat-i Delhi*—, the new seat of government, soon attracted scholars from the central Islamic world. Persian was made the language of administration on a higher level and served as a unifying force, as Amir Khusrau states by the end of the century. Celebrities from Arabia, China and other places came to Delhi 'as moths gather around a candle' ('Isami). Numerous were the ulema; but people would divide them into the

²³ Y. Friedmann, *The Origins and Significance of the Chachnāma* (Paper, Jerusalem Conference on Islam in India, 1977).

‘ulamā-yi ākhirat or ‘ulamā-yi rabbānī, those who were interested mainly in religious life and did not interfere with the ‘world’, and into ‘ulamā-yi dunyā or ‘ulamā-yi sū, who closely co-operated with the government and went along with the wishes of the rulers or the grandees. Thus, none of these protested when Iltutmish appointed his capable daughter Raziya as his successor after his eldest son’s death (1231); the prince’s tomb, known as Sultan Ghari, is one of the oldest Muslim monuments in southern Delhi.—It was only 400 years later that the Delhi traditionist, ‘Abdulhaqq, regarded Raziya’s appointment as a legal mistake and incompatible with the *sharī‘a*.

But, as S. M. Ikram remarks, the ulema, whatever their spiritual significance, ‘did lend a hand, and perhaps not unsuccessfully, in helping the advancement of Muslim society in Hindustan instead of harnessing all the religious passion to impede the progress’.²⁴ They well knew that the Muslims in India were only ‘like salt in a big kettle’²⁵ and had no way of practicing all the requirements of the law. What mattered was the consolidation of Muslim rule. To be sure, Raziya Sultana, who replaced her debauched brother after his brief reign and who is described in the *Tabaqāt-i Nāṣirī* as a sagacious sovereign, ruled not more than four years (1236-1240); giving up the cumbersome arrangements for keeping purdah, she appeared in public, riding her elephant. It is said that her partiality to an Abyssinian amir, Yaqut, estranged the Turkish nobility from her. For when choosing a ruler during the first century of the Delhi Sultanate the nobles laid emphasis upon his being a Turk, rather than primarily a pious Muslim. Indeed, Turkish military slaves along with the non-servile Tajiks played the most important role during the early Sultanate period. It is therefore not surprising that in many Indian languages the word *turk* became synonymous with *muslim*, and that the juxtaposition of *Turk* and *Hindu*, so well known to readers of Persian poetry, had a very real meaning during the early Muslim rule in India.²⁶

In Raziya’s short reign one event is worth mentioning: in 1237 a group of ‘Carmatians’ from various parts of the country assembled under one Nur Turk and attacked the Great Mosque in Delhi. Bloodshed followed, and the ‘heretics’ were finally defeated. The identity of Nur Turk is still a matter of dispute—it seems difficult to accept that he was the same man whom the Delhi saints highly praised for his piety.

Years of restlessness followed. After Sultan Mas‘ud had been disposed due to his incompetence and tyranny in 1246, Iltutmish’s grandson Nasiruddin

²⁴ S. M. Ikram, *Muslim Rule in India and Pakistan*, Lahore, 2nd ed. Lahore 1966, p. 134.

²⁵ Nizami, *Religion and Politics*, p. 315.

²⁶ See A. Schimmel, ‘Turk and Hindu’, in S. Vryonis (ed.), *Islam and Cultural Change in the Middle Ages*, Wiesbaden 1975.

Mahmud, aged sixteen, occupied the throne for twenty years. The most religious-minded ruler of the 13th century, a 'king of angelic temperament', as Amir Khusrau calls him, skilfully avoided the dangers of politics and entrusted his father's former slave, his own father-in-law, Balban, with the government and occupied himself primarily with his religious duties, devoting much time to writing copies of the Koran. These were sold, and he lived mainly from this income, never using the money from the public treasury for his personal expenses. He also bestowed large sums upon the ulema. This is at least the general judgment about him. His piety, however, did not improve the political situation—intrigues of the nobles alternated with attacks of the Mongols in the Punjab. Finally, in 1259, Hulagu promised Nasiruddin's envoys that he would stop the invasions of his hordes in the Subcontinent.

The Sultan died in 1266, apparently not without Balban's connivance. A man in his late fifties, Balban now officially seized the reins of government. Although rather reckless in his early years, he tried to act as a pious Muslim after ascending the throne, offered his prayers, fasted, and sometimes performed supererogatory worship. His great respect for saints and scholars even led him to attend their funerals. He, too, added a *madrasa*, the Nasiriyya, to the Muslim institutions in Delhi, and appointed Minhaj as-Siraj (d. ca. 1270) as its first principal.—Balban, in spite of his 'Turkishness' adopted the Persian court-style; he traced his genealogy back to the mythical Afrasiyab—a 'Turk', to be sure—, and his grandsons bore names of the Persian heroes of the *Shāhnāma*.

One century later the highly conservative historian Ziauddin Barani gives a lively though utterly biased account of Balban's reign, in which he incorporates his visions of an ideal Islamic state. Barani claims that Balban's two models for just administration were the two 'Umars—'Umar ibn al-Khattab, the second caliph (634-644), noted for his unswerving justice, and 'Umar ibn 'Abdul'aziz (717-720), the only 'pious' ruler in the Umayyad dynasty. He quotes Balban's alleged testament in which the ruler tells his son Bughra Khan that a king must live in such a way that all his acts, words and movements are appreciated and recognized by the Muslims; he has to follow the rulers of old and seek God's pleasure by virtuous deeds and by doing the approved things; his words, acts, orders, personal qualities and virtues should enable people to live according to the rules of the *shari'a*. The classical attitude of Muslim orthodoxy in India is incorporated in Barani's statement in which he stresses the importance of *dīnpanāhī*, 'protecting of religion', as the central duty of a Muslim king:

Even if the ruler were to perform every day a thousand *ruk'at* of prayer, keep fast all his life, do nothing prohibited, and spend all the treasury for the sake of God, and yet *not* practice

dinpanāhi, not exert his strength and energy in the extirpation, lowering, curbing and debasing of the enemies of God and His Prophet, not seek to honour the orders of the Divine law, and not show in his realms the splendour of ordering the good and prohibiting the forbidden...then his place would be nowhere but in Hell.²⁷

Looking at the political scene in those days one realizes the wide gap between religious ideals and political realities!

However, religious life in the capital, and (probably) to a lesser extent also in the smaller cities, was apparently flourishing. Preachers and imams generally led a prosperous life because they were paid by the government and highly respected. Besides preaching on Fridays preachers were supposed to hold *tadhkir* meetings during the month of Ramadan and in Muharram—usually three days a week—in order to infuse religious zeal into the hearts of the believers; they were also called upon in times of emergency; thus Qadi Minhaj as-Siraj—famous for his sermons—gathered people for a *tadhkir*-meeting on the eve of a Mongol attack.

The 13th century was the time when the rules for religious offices were fixed. Thus, Ilutmish created the office of *shaikh ul-Islam*, which he offered to Bakhtiar Kaki, who, as a Chishti mystic, declined it since the Chishtiyya avoid contacts with the government. The position for the area of Hindustan was then entrusted to Sayyid Nuruddin Mubarak Ghaznawi (d. 1234), a disciple of Shihabuddin 'Umar Suhrawardi, who took an energetic stance against both non-Muslims and philosophy, an attitude often found in mystics of the 'sober' schools. In Sind, the office was in Baha'uddin Zakariya Multani's hands. The *shaikh ul-Islam*'s duty was to look after 'the ecclesiastic affairs of the empire. All those saints and *faqirs* who enjoyed state patronage were looked after by him.' In every town, a *qāḍī* was appointed to perform all administrative business. Among the qadis, the mystically minded Minhaj as-Siraj, the author of the important chronicle *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣiri* (composed 658/1256) played a prominent role in Delhi. It was thanks to him that the *samāʿ*, the musical meeting of the Sufis, particularly of the Chishtis, was legalized in Delhi despite objections by other jurists.

Scholarly activities were mainly geared towards preserving the Islamic heritage in a foreign environment. Therefore, the scholars of the 13th century—and many in later times too!—produced little original work but rather composed commentaries, abbreviations of and compilations from time-honoured classical works of Islamic theology. This attitude explains the strong interest in Prophetic traditions during this period, particularly among the mystical leaders in both major orders: to follow the example of the Pro-

²⁷ Baranī, *Tārīkh-i Fērūzshāhī*, ed. Sayyid Ahmad Khan, Calcutta 1860-62, p. 44.

phet was the safest way to act correctly in the face of an irritating plethora of Indian influences.

One of the most influential scholars of the Middle Ages was connected for some time with the Delhi court: this was Raziuddin as-Saghani who hailed from Lahore; he later settled in Baghdad and was then in 1220 sent as an envoy to Ilutmish by the caliph an-Nasir, the last truly active member of the Abbasid house. After twenty years Saghani returned to Baghdad. His *Mashâriq al-anwâr*, a rearrangement and popularization of Bukhari's and Muslim's collections of traditions, the *Ṣaḥīḥain*, became the standard work of *ḥadīth*, on which Indian scholars produced numerous commentaries. The *Mashâriq* with its 2253 traditions invariably belonged to the syllabus of medieval Indian *madrasas*, complemented from the mid-14th century onward by al-Baghawi's (d. 1122) *Maṣābiḥ as-sunna*. A few decades later, Tabrizi's *Mishkāt al-maṣābiḥ* was introduced and formed the basis of instruction in *ḥadīth* in learned institutions of India (even in modern times in the Firangi Mahal in Lucknow and the Dar ul-⁶ulum in Deoband). It was often commented upon in various provincial *madrasas*, and even referred to as *mishkāt-i sharīf*, 'The Noble Lamp'.²⁸

While the Sufis largely promoted the study of *ḥadīth*, the normal *madrasa*-student who might hope to become a *qāḍī* paid more attention to *fiqh*, on which Marghinani's (d. 1197) *Hidāyat al-mubtadi*³ remained the standard work until the British took over. It was complemented by Pazdawi's *Uṣūl al-fiqh* and the important handbook of Hanafī law, Quduri's (d. 1037) *Mukhtaṣar*.

In the classes of exegesis, students had to use Zamakhshari's (d. 1144) *Kashshāf*, although some mystical leaders, like Bahā'uddin Zakariya, refused this Mu'tazilite commentary. Later, Baidawī's (d. 1285) *Anwār at-tanzīl* was generally accepted.—To learn Arabic grammar, the medieval student had to study Mutarrizi's (d. 1213) *Misbāh* and Ibn Malik's (d. 1273) *Kāfiya*; on a higher level he was supposed to read Hariri's *Maqāmāt*, that most brilliant masterpiece of Arabic belles-lettres which was even imitated in 18th century India. All these works have been commented upon time and again. Apparently less popular were works on *kalām*, such as Abu Shakur as-Salimi's (late 11th century) *Tamhīd* and later Samarqandi's (d. 1291) *as-Ṣaḥāʾif al-ilāhiyya*; greater was the interest, somewhat later, in Ijī's (d. 1354) *Mawāqif*.

Thus the foundations of Muslim learning were firmly laid during the 13th century—so firmly that barely a development or a deviation of thought was

²⁸ The latest edition in six volumes with exhaustive commentary published in Benares 1973-78; English translation by J. Robson, Lahore 1975.

ever attempted. Looking at the vast amount of commentaries and glosses that grew around these basic sources of scholarship in India one better understands the modernists' attempts to rid the Muslims from this centuries-old burden by new, sometimes daring interpretations of the veritable centre of Islam, i.e., the Koran, whose dynamic message had been almost forgotten.

Balban's stern but successful reign in which he wisely preferred consolidation to expansion, was troubled toward the end by the death of his favourite son Muhammad, the governor of Multan, a patron of the poets Amir Khusrau and Hasan Sijzi and admirer of the Suhrawardi masters. He was killed during an attack of the Mongols who in spite of Hulagu's promise continued to harass the Northwest by irregular invasions (1282). Balban was succeeded in 1286 by his grandson Kaiqubad; the estrangement between Kaiqubad and his father Bughra Khan marks the beginning of a turbulent period in the history of the Delhi kingdom. Amir Khusrau has poetically described the short-lived reconciliation of Bughra Khan, then living in Bihar and Oudh, with his son (*Qirān as-sa'dain*). Kaiqubad was a young man given to all kinds of pleasures and (or) vices, and could not care less for religious prescriptions; he even found some '*ulamā-yi dunyā*' who invented excuses for his violation of Ramadan and his indifference to prayer. His reign was short; in 1290 he was assassinated, and the Khaljis, an Afghan clan, rose to power.

Jalaluddin Feroz Khalji's short but generally benevolent rule was stained by the way he disposed of Sidi Muwallih, a saint, 'adorned with so many excellencies and perfections'.²⁹ Sidi Muwallih—although belonging to the *muwallih* group of *be-shar'* dervishes—was a friend of Farid Ganj-i Shakar; he had wide public support and kept up a large *khānqāh* in which many of the dispossessed amirs of Balban's reign used to gather. The fact that the recluse apparently had a mysterious source of income which allowed him to offer unusually generous hospitality led the king to suspect that he might be involved in a conspiracy. This was never definitely proven; the ulema, asked by the Sultan to put him to an ordeal, issued a *fatwā* declaring such an act irreligious. The Sultan finally had him cruelly killed by a group of *qalandars* who belonged to a different religious faction and 'avenged him of this man'.

²⁹ The vocalization *Muwallih*—against the generally accepted *Maulā*—established by Simon Digby, *Qalandars and related Groups* (Paper at the Jerusalem Conference on Islam in India 1977), p. 11 ff: he was apparently a member of the *muwallih* dervishes, noted for their fire walking—hence the idea of having him pass an ordeal. A. S. Usha, in his edition of 'Isāmī's *Futūh as-salāfin*, Madras 1948, gives the same vocalization.—Bada'uni, in his account of his persecution (*Muntakhab at-tawārikh*, transl. I 233 ff.) makes him recite a Persian *rubā'ī* which has been ascribed to almost every major mystical lover from Jalāluddīn Rūmī to Sarmad Shāhid, i.e. *Dar majbakh-i 'ishq* 'In the kitchen of love they slay naught but the good...'.
 *

The dust storm that followed this execution, as well as the terrible famine in the next months, were interpreted as a sign of the saint's innocence, and his case remained proverbial in Indo-Muslim history.

Jalaluddin Feroz successfully repulsed the Mongols from Lahore (1292) and for the first time had an army enter the Deccan (1294) under the command of his nephew 'Ala'uddin. This energetic but ruthless man soon killed his uncle and exerted a stern rule over his kingdom for the next twenty years. His *muhtasib*, Zia'uddin Sanna'i, helped him in oppressing all vices (although the Sultan failed in his attempt to introduce strict prohibition, after he himself had unwittingly ordered the execution of a friend in a state of drunkenness).³⁰ The injunctions of the *shari'a* were enjoined on the *dhimmis* so that Hindus were no longer allowed to wear costly dresses or to ride horses. That may be one reason why the learned Maulana Shamsuddin Turk-i Multani, who had come from Egypt in the hope of disseminating the study of *hadith*, admitted that even though 'Ala'uddin was by no means regular in his prayers he was still praiseworthy because:

I heard that the wives and children of the Hindus beg at the doors of the Muslims. Praise be to you, O Padishah of Islam, for the protection of the religion of Muhammad which you perform!³¹

For although the ruler's first and foremost interest was the consolidation of his power and not theological studies, and his statecraft relied more on his own practical insight than on the *shari'a*, yet he was quite active in persecuting 'the worst enemies of our Prophet' and acted according to the dictum: "Accept Islam or be killed!" Part of his struggle was directed against the Isma'ilis, called by Barani and Amir Khusrau *ibāḥatiyān*, 'the people of incest'.³² Shortly before 1311 'Ala'uddin carried out an investigation of which his court poet Amir Khusrau writes:

He ordered all the *ibāḥatis* to be present and appointed fruitful investigators over them who sent for each of them and made inquiry...

It was easy to find out 'that they were indeed guilty of incest', and:

³⁰ Amir Khusrau, *Khazā'in al-futūḥ*, transl. p. 10: "Since it is a characteristic of that pure personality to supply with water the spring of the *shari'a*, he has brought head wine, which is the mother of evils and the daughter of grapes as well as the sister of sugarcane, from the assembly of corruption to the seclusion of rectitude, so that wine has been leavened with salt and has sworn that henceforth it would remain only in the pitcher of vinegar and would prove true to its salt..."

³¹ Barani, *Tarikh-i Ferozshāhi* p. 297.

³² According to De Goeje (in Hastings, *Encyclopedia of Religions and Ethics*, s.v. Carmathians, II 222-225), the accusation of immorality is due to the fact that the Carmatian women did not wear a veil.—Even today in orthodox circles in Pakistan, Ismaili women are regarded with suspicion since they do not veil and attend the congregational meetings in the Jamaatkhana.

He as a punishment had them sawed asunder...and the saw with all its hard-heartedness and frivolous laughter shed tears of blood on their heads and they who had become one by stealthy union became two instead of one by the stroke of the saw.¹¹

‘Ala’uddin was fond of founding and repairing buildings, and laid the foundation of a minaret that was intended to surpass the Qutub Minar in glory but was never finished; he also enlarged the Quwwat ul-Islam mosque:

He first ordered that the courtyard of the mosque be enlarged as far as possible so that the throng of the Muslims which by the grace of God cannot be accommodated in the whole world may find a new world within the world...¹²

The ramparts of Delhi were likewise repaired and partly rebuilt,

and since it is necessary that blood be given to a new building so several thousand goat-bearded Mongols were slaughtered on it...

as Amir Khusrau triumphantly writes.¹³

‘Ala’uddin’s military operations brought him to Gujarat, Malwa, and again to the Deccan, where Malik Kafur, a eunuch acquired in Cambay, led the royal army; the Hindu rulers of South India became tributaries of Delhi. ‘Ala’uddin’s spy system was as impressive as his revenue policy and his price control; in the well-knit organisation of the state the ulema were looked after and controlled by the *ṣadr aṣ-ṣudūr*. The *ṣadr aṣ-ṣudūr* grew into the most powerful officer of the kingdom so that at Akbar’s time he ranked as the fourth officer of the whole empire. He was the highest law officer and, almost as importantly, he was in charge of all lands devoted to the maintenance of mosques, *khānqāhs*, and scholars, i.e., he constituted something like the central *waqf* administrator, and possessed almost unlimited authority to confer such landgrants upon individuals in the religious hierarchy. Since he was the highest authority in *sharī‘a* law he could also persecute, and even execute, alleged heretics. ‘Ala’uddin’s successful politics are ascribed by some authors to the blessings of Nizamuddin Auliya, the saint of Delhi, and indeed, Nizamuddin’s friend and disciple Hasan Dihlawi has devoted more than one panegyric to the ruler ‘thanks to whom the building of religion and the world is firm and stable’:

The twig of his kingdom is fresh for that reason
That he was brought up by the Divine Sustainer...¹⁴

Nizamuddin’s other favourite, Amir Khusrau, also praised the ruler, and in

¹¹ Amir Khusrau, *Khazā’in al-futūḥ*, transl. p. 11.

¹² Id., p. 13.

¹³ Id., p. 15.

¹⁴ S. M. Ikram, *Armaghān-i Pak*, p. 137. Amir Khusrau’s Arabic qasida in honor of ‘Ala’uddin is a masterpiece of puns: ‘*ain ul-hayā bal ‘ainuhu ‘ain ul-hayā, yam an-nidā bal kaffuhu ‘ain ul-yam*.

the *khānqāh* of Nizamuddin's successor, Chiragh-i Delhi, he was well spoken of for his economic regulations, particularly the low price of grain.

In 1316 'Ala'uddin was succeeded by his son Mubarak after the usual period of disturbances. The Sultan assumed the title of *khāltfat Allāh*, a new device in the Delhi sultanate. The pious title did not prevent him from leading a most debauched life in which his favourite Khusrau Khan, a convert from low-caste Hindu background, played the leading role. It was Khusrau who murdered his lover in 1320 and introduced a new era. Barani claims that under him 'the mosques were defiled and destroyed and copies of the scriptures of Islam were used as seats and stools'. The truth of this allegation cannot be proved, but people were more than happy when after some five months this tyrant was replaced by Ghiyathuddin Tughluq, the founder of a new Turkish dynasty, who was hailed by many as 'the saviour of Islam in India.' He was an orthodox man; his relations with the great saint of Delhi, Nizamuddin Auliya, seem to have been somewhat tense due to differing views about the permissibility of mystical music and *samā'*. And Bada'uni informs us about the origin of an oft-quoted saying:

It is currently reported among the people of India that Sultan Ghiyathuddin Tughluq, on account of the ill will he bore to the Prince of Shaikhs, sent a message to the shaikh while on the way to Lakhnauti to this effect, "after my arrival at Delhi, either the shaikh will be there or I". The shaikh replied, "Delhi is still far away", *Delhī hanūz dūrast*.¹⁷

Indeed, the aged monarch died on his way back in 1325, crushed under the roof of a wooden pavilion, which was perhaps treacherously constructed by his son and successor Muhammad.

The quarter century that followed was characterized by the extreme contradictions in the Sultan's character, which ranged from boundless generosity to even more excessive cruelty. The North African traveller, Ibn Battuta, who reached India in 1333 and served as chief *qāḍī* of Delhi under Muhammad Tughluq, testifies to these aspects of his character by the remark that "his gateway is never free from a beggar whom he had relieved and a corpse which he has slain".¹⁸ He used foreigners and recently-converted Hindus in the state service, and the old nobility slowly lost status. Interested in *fiqh* and rational sciences, he yet asked the Bihari Sufi Sharafuddin Maneri for a guide book on mysticism and sent for the great scholastic theologian 'Adududdin Iji in Shiraz. Although Iji did not respond to the invitation, his *Mawāqif* became one of the standard works in Indian *madrasas*.

Muhammad Tughluq was punctual in the fulfilment of his ritual duties and forced everyone to join the congregational prayers; 'in the course of one single

¹⁷ Bada'uni, *Muntakhab at-tawārikh*, I transl. 301, text 225.

¹⁸ Ibn Battuta, S. Mahdi Husain, *The Rehla of Ibn Battuta*, Baroda 1976, p. 83.

day he killed nine persons for neglecting that'. At the same time he disregarded the divine law in his political actions. Yet, as Barani states, he 'wanted to combine prophethood with kingship', i.e., he claimed 'that religion and state are twins' and have to work together. And as much as he revered outstanding saints like Ruknuddin of Multan, and visited the tombs of Mu'inuddin Chishti and Salar Mas'ud, the increasing influence of those Sufis who advocated a more isolated life,—as the Chishtis did in general,—disturbed him. In 1327 he decided to send his officials, and somewhat later most of the intelligentsia of Delhi to Deogir/Daulatabad, the 'geographical centre' of his kingdom. Many of them perished on the road while others did not survive in the climate of the northern Deccan. After a few years, return to Delhi was permitted. A considerable number of Muslims, however, stayed in the Daulatabad region; they not only helped achieve effective administrative control of the southern region but also became instrumental in the dissemination of religious ideas and, in the long run, in the development of a genuine southern Muslim culture.

During Muhammad Tughluq's long reign (1325-1351), revolts broke out in the border provinces; and, although he could handle the rebels in most places, the long years of famine ruined vast areas. One event, however, filled him with pride: the investiture from the caliph, now in Cairo, in 1343. Only then he felt his rule properly legalized. Nevertheless, the country split up: in Madura an independent kingdom was founded in 1335, the Deccan and Bengal followed. Muhammad died on the bank of the Indus during his persecution of a Gujarati rebel, and 'the Sultan was freed from his people, and the people from the Sultan'.¹⁹

His cousin Feroz Shah succeeded him in 1351, at a time when the political and economic situation was very critical, due partly to the famine of previous years and partly to Muhammad Tughluq's attempt to extend the borders of his kingdom even into Tibet. But the new ruler, then 45 lunar years old, succeeded in giving the country a long period of relative peace; no famines are recorded, and the prices were low.

Some of the most important chronicles of medieval India were written under Feroz Shah, such as Barani's *Tārīkh-i Ferozshāhī* and the *Fatāwā-yī jahāndārī*, works which reveal the author's aversion to both the non-élite and even more to the Hindu unbelievers, who still played an important role in the kingdom and even erected new temples!

In the capital and in the cities of the Musulmans the customs of infidelity are openly practised, idols are publicly worshipped, and the traditions of infidelity are adhered to with

¹⁹ Bada'uni, *Muntakhab at-tawārīkh*, I, transl. 317, text 238.

greater insistence than before... Openly and without fear, the infidels continue their rejoicing during their festivals with the beat of drums and *dhols* and with singing and dancing. By paying merely a few *tankas* and the *jizya*, they are able to continue the traditions of infidelity by giving lessons in the books of their false faith and enforcing the orders of these books.⁴⁰

Under these circumstances, according to Barani, there is no real difference between a Muslim king and a Hindu raja!

But Barani's hatred was not directed against the Hindus alone. Contrary to the true Islamic ideals he was an advocate of class distinction in Islam. To be a Muslim was not enough; one had to be a Turk of pure blood, and the 'neo-Muslims' did not really count. Indeed, under neither Iltutmish nor Balban had non-Turks full access to high positions. Lowborn people—and that meant many of the recent converts—should not even be taught reading or writing lest they occupy important offices:

Don't give a pen into a low-born person's hand, for then the sky will have the possibility to convert the black stone of the Ka'ba into a stone for ritual absterion!⁴¹

However, one must not take all of Barani's chronicles at face value; his aim was to write a kind of *Fürstenspiegel*, and one cannot but admire his portrait of the ideal Muslim ruler: the Sultan as vicegerent of God is supposed to display the virtues of *lutf*, mercy, and *qahr*, wrath. As these two aspects of the perfect God are necessary to maintain the current of life, they are thus required in the ideal ruler. (In Muhammad Tughluq, however, the tension between *lutf* and *qahr* became too strong, as the author states). Barani's description of the ruler reminds the reader of the Sufi tradition; Jalaluddin Rumi had used the parable of the king's splendour and his robes of honour on the one hand and his using of gallows and prison on the other hand to point to God's opposite qualities of *lutf* and *qahr*, of *jamāl*, beauty, and *jalāl*, majesty.⁴² For in spite of his intense intolerance, Barani learned much from the Sufis, and he is buried in a modest tomb close to his venerated master Nizamuddin Auliya's mausoleum in Delhi, a place which Feroz Shah had beautifully adorned.

Feroz Shah, in whose ascension the saint Chiragh-i Delhi or other Sufis may have had a hand led two campaigns against Bengal and one against Sind, but on the whole he tried to avoid wars. Strongly orthodox, he never transacted any business without referring to the Koran for augury. He was the last Sultan of Delhi to obtain a document of investiture from the then powerless Abbasid caliph in Cairo in 1355, and he adorned his kingdom with numerous sacred

⁴⁰ Barani, *Fatāwā-yi jahāndārī*, quot. in K. A. Nizami, *Religion and Politics*, Introduction by M. Habib, p. XXI.

⁴¹ Barani, *Tārīkh-i Fērōzshāhī*, p. 387.

⁴² A. J. Arberry, *Discourses of Rumi*, London 1961, p. 184, 188.

and profane buildings so that Egyptian sources speak of a thousand *madrasas* and seventy hospitals in the Indian capital.⁴³ Among the *madrasas*, the Feroz-shahiyya in Hauz Khass was most famed, a place close to which the ruler was buried.

Feroz Shah's ideal was the Sunni state; and in 1374, after a visit at Salar Mas'ud's tomb in Bahraich, his orthodox attitude waxed stronger. He ordered Muslim women to stay at home and persecuted Shiites and other heretics, as he himself writes:

The sect of Shias, also called *rawāfiṣ*, had endeavoured to make many proselytes... I seized them all and I convicted them of their errors and perversion. On the most zealous I inflicted capital punishment (*siyāsa*), and the rest I visited with censure (*ta'zīr*) and threats of public punishment. Their books I burnt in public and by the grace of God the influence of this sect was entirely suppressed.⁴⁴

He likewise caused the ulema to slay a man who claimed to be the *mahdī*, 'and for this good action I hope to receive future reward'. And the conversion of his Hindu subjects became his special goal:

I encouraged my infidel subjects to embrace the religion of the Prophet, and I proclaimed that everyone who repeated the creed and became a Muslim should be exempt from the *jizya*..... Great numbers of Hindus presented themselves and were admitted to the honor of Islam.⁴⁵

The fact that he imposed the *jizya* for the first time upon Brahmans led to a serious protest from their side. On the other hand he restored the land grants of the learned and the pious and tried to prohibit the torture which had been frequently used by his predecessors. In his administration he was supported by his vizier Khan-i jahan, a former Hindu from Telang who had embraced Islam under Nizamuddin Auliya's influence. The rules of his administration are laid down in the *Fiqh-i Ferozshāhī* and the *Fatāwā-yi tatarkhāniyya* compiled in 1375 by his seniormost officer, Tatar Khan.

Feroz Shah died an octogenarian in 1388, and his successors were mere puppets in the hands of intriguing ministers; they accelerated the chaos so that Timur's invasion of Northern Indian (December 1398) easily put an end to the first and decisive period of North Indian Muslim history. Now, the 'provincialization of Muslim culture in India' (thus Aziz Ahmad) began, facilitated by the fact that Feroz Shah had made some fiefs (*iqṭāʿ*) hereditary so that the leading families could consolidate their positions. The last Tughluq Sultan, Mahmud II, died in 1413 after twenty years of only nominal rule.

⁴³ Thus Qalqashandi, *Subh al-a'shā*, Cairo 1914 ff., Vol. V, 68 f. Najmuddin Firuzabadi, the author of the *Qāmūs* (printed Bulaq, 4 vols., 1319h/1901) spent also some time in India at Feroz Shah's court.

⁴⁴ *Futūḥāt-i Fērōzshāhī*, in H. S. Elliot and Dowson, *History of India* III 280.

⁴⁵ Id. S.a., *Comprehensive History* p. 610f.

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It has become sufficiently clear that many political developments during this formative period of Indian Islam can be understood properly only by studying carefully the role of the mystical leaders who contributed more efficiently to the spread of Islam than rulers and official ulema, and whose records (as M. Habib and K. A. Nizami have shown) contain valuable information on the manners and customs of the people. Although the 13th century is characterized on the political plane by the Mongol onslaught all over Asia which entailed, in 1258, the end of the Abbasid caliphate of Baghdad, it was also the time that produced the most important figures in Sufi history. The Spanish-born Ibn 'Arabi (d. 1240 in Damascus) built up his grand theosophical system of *wahdat al-wujūd*, 'Unity of Being', and his works were to have enormous influence throughout the Muslim world, not the least in the Subcontinent. Maulana Jalaluddin Rumi, the greatest mystical poet in the Persian tongue (d. 1273 in Konya), wrote his love-intoxicated *Diwān* and his didactic *Mathnawī*, whose verses formed a source of unending spiritual delight and inspiration for the faithful wherever Persian was understood. Other mystical poets, like Ibn al-Farid (d. 1235) in Egypt and Yunus Emre (d. after 1300) in Anatolia, sang in praise of Divine Love and love of the Prophet, and a great number of mystical fraternities or orders, which were to play a decisive role in the dissemination of Islamic ideas, came into existence.

To be sure, there had been some Muslim mystics in the Subcontinent before 1200, such as Hujwiri in Lahore; but it was only after the consolidation of the Sufi orders in the mainlands of Islam that a large-scale missionary activity set in. The first and foremost Sufi missionary to reach the Subcontinent was Khwaja Hasan Mu'innuddin Chishti. Born around 1141 in Sistan, he had been a disciple of some leading masters of his time, particularly Najmuddin Kubra and Najibuddin Suhrawardi, whose *Ādab al-murīdīn*, the 'Etiquette of the Novices', was soon to become a handbook of Sufi education in India as elsewhere, just as his nephew Abu Hafs Shihabuddin 'Umar Suhrawardi's *ʿAwārif al-maʿārif* is one of the basic works of moderate Indian Sufism. After long journeys, Khwaja Mu'innuddin was directed by a dream of the Prophet to turn to India; he visited Hujwiri's tomb in Lahore and reached Delhi in 1193, the year after Mu'izzuddin Ghori had conquered the city. He then settled in Ajmer, the heart of Rajasthan. Little is known of Mu'innuddin's personal life; he was married to two wives and had three sons and one daughter, the latter also credited with mystical inclinations. The master died in 1236, and his tomb was constructed by Sultan Hushang of Malwa and enlarged under Akbar.

The Sufi tradition stresses Khwaja Mu'innuddin's all-embracing love and his great affection for the poor and the needy, and he is said to have claimed that

The highest form of devotion is to redress the misery of those in distress, to fulfill the needs of the helpless, and to feed the hungry.⁴⁶

His ideals are the same as those formulated by Bayezid Bistami (d. 874): A Sufi should possess 'a generosity like that of the ocean, a mildness like that of the sun, and a modesty like that of the earth'. The Chishtis, though advocating strict asceticism in the initial stages and using various forms of loud and silent *dhikr*, have attracted many followers through their love for music and poetry; in this field they contributed largely to the development of a refined Indo-Muslim culture. One particular aspect of Mu'inuddin Chishti's teaching was that he did not insist upon formal conversion of a non-Muslim before the novice had 'tasted' the truth. Such generosity made the order very attractive for Hindus and accounts also for the fact that Mu'inuddin's tomb is one of the favourite places for pilgrimage all over India. Yusuf Husain Khan mentions that the saint became even the 'divinité tutélaire' of the Husaini Brahmins,⁴⁷ and the history of Islam contains copious information on the visits of rulers to the shrine in Ajmer (see p. 130).

Khwaja Mu'inuddin's disciples went to different parts of India. The Indianizing trend is most conspicuous in Shaikh Hamiduddin Sufi, called *Sulṭān at-tārikīn*, 'the Prince of those who renounce [everything]' (d. 1276) who settled in Nagaur where he lived in a small mud house and did some farming. He was a strict vegetarian, which may or may not be ascribed to Hindu influence (vegetarianism being found also among much earlier Sufis in the central and western Islamic world). Like vegetarianism, the practice of breath-regulation, *habs-i dam*, which became one of the most important features of Sufism especially in India, has been explained by the Muslims adopting Yoga practices. However, one has to keep in mind that the Sufis were on the whole not too impressed by yoga performances, and rather blamed the Yogis' exaggerated pre-occupation with the body along with the excessive attempts at self-mortification as un-Islamic in spirit.

More important for the consolidation of the *silsila* (chain of initiation) than Hamiduddin Sufi was Bakhtiar Kaki from Ush in the Farghana. He had met Mu'inuddin already in Baghdad, when both were seeking mystical instruction and inspiration, but reached India later than his friend by whom he was entrusted with the spiritual realm of Delhi, where Iltutmish warmly received

⁴⁶ Bada'uni's description of Shaikh 'Azizullah Chishti illustrates the ideals of the order: "To champion the cause of the poor and helpless who came to him with their complaints he would travel long distances on foot, even though he had at the time entered into a forty days retreat, and though he had to visit the house of one who was without the pale of the faith in order to gain his object" (*Muktakhab* III transl. 15).

⁴⁷ *L'Inde mystique*, Paris 1929, p. 33.

him. In true Chishti manner he declined worldly, even religious offices, as the Chishti poet says:

How long will you go to the doors of amirs and sultan?
This is nothing else but walking in the tracks of Satan!

Bakhtiar Kaki lived not far from the Qutub Minar in Mehrauli, surrounded by many followers; there he died during a *samāʿ*-meeting, enraptured by this verse of Ahmad-i Jam:

Those who are slain by the dagger of surrender (*taslīm*)
Receive every moment a new life from the Unseen.

That was in November 1235, a few months before Muʿinuddin Chishti's death. During the Lodi period, Bakhtiar Kaki became 'the favourite Afghan Saint'⁴⁴ and his *ʿurs* still attracts people who continue the musical tradition of the order. His continuing influence can be gauged from the fact that one of the five conditions which Gandhi put for breaking his last fast in January 1948 was that as an act of atonement Hindus and Sikhs should repair the *dargāh* at Mehrauli, which had been damaged in the communal riots after partition.⁴⁵ The main Chishti line continues indeed through Bakhtiar Kaki. While his first *khālifa* in Delhi did not follow the traditional line of non-cooperation with the government, his major *khālifa* Fariduddin, called *Ganj-i shakar*, 'Sugar treasure', left Delhi for political reasons. Born near Multan and grown up under the influence of a pious mother, Fariduddin early developed a taste for the religious life. In Uchh he practised the *chilla maʿkūsa*, which means to hang oneself by the feet in a dark room for forty days to meditate. Since this ascetic feat had been practised already two centuries earlier in Khorassan it is difficult to explain it as a Hindu custom. Farid's constant fasting, often in the difficult form of *ṣaum-i dāʾudī* (i.e. fasting one day and eating one day) was rewarded: pebbles turned into sugar for him—hence his surname. The young Sufi spent twenty years in Hansi, whence he was called to Delhi. After a while he left disgusted with the political machinations, to settle in Ajodhan on the Sutlej, later called Pakpattan, 'the Ferry of the Pure'.

Fariduddin's asceticism became proverbial in India, and great was his poverty. Since he rejected agricultural work, not to mention government grants, and relied completely on unsolicited gifts (*futūh*) the financial situation was at times very difficult in his *khānqāh*. His large family did not bother him too much; his main concern was contemplation and counselling the numerous visitors who flocked to his *khānqāh*. The master died in 1265. Some

⁴⁴ Jafar Sharif/Herclofs, *Islam in India*, Oxford 1921, repr. 1972 p. 143.

⁴⁵ Abul Kalam Azad, *India wins Freedom*, Bombay 1959, p. 219.

Hindu tribes of the Punjab were converted thanks to him, and his tomb was visited by Timur, the conqueror, as it was visited by Akbar. And even the notorious Thugs claimed him as their protector!

The Chishti Sufis used to sleep, work, and live in one large room, usually called *jamā'atkhāna*, but later also *khānqāh*. Life centered around the *pīr*, and Bruce Lawrence has rightly called attention to the medieval *pīr*'s role as 'a dynamic element... He makes alive the sanctity of the Koran and reverence for Tradition; he transmits stories and recites poetry that reflect a right outlook and correct behaviour, or sometimes merely provide relief from the tedium of spiritual discipline... He prays and teaches; he teaches and prays.'¹⁰ The inmates of the *jamā'atkhāna* had to perform both personal services to the *pīr* and the cooperative management of the affairs of the 'monastery'. Shaikh Farid even had one servant who used to send his wives to him according to their turn so that justice might be done to them.¹¹ The Sufis would go out to gather kindling, or to do other menial tasks; otherwise they studied hagiographical works and basic mystical texts. A novice who entered the *khānqāh* had to shave his hair; *bal'a*, ('covenant', 'initiation') was taken by grasping the *pīr*'s hand. The elect who might later rise to the rank of *khalīfa* (vicegerent) were specially trained, and had to offer what was called *zakāt-i haqīqat*, i.e., to give all they possessed. Senior members of the *khānqāh* might write *ta'wīdh*, amulets, which were given to visitors, who in turn brought gifts, in cash or kind, to the *khānqāh*. Even today the visitor who stays in a *khānqāh* as a guest will offer, at the end of his stay, a *nadhr*, 'oblation', in return for the hospitality and spiritual uplifting that he enjoyed during his visit.

The rules for succession were strictly defined. The *khilāfatnāma* states, among other things:

Grant your *khilāfat* to one who does not deviate a iota from the *sunna* of the Prophet, who devotes his time to prayers and cuts himself completely off from all worldly connections and temptations.¹²

The regalia bestowed upon the *khalīfa* were the *khirqā* (the patched frock), the prayer rug (*sajjāda*, hence the title *sajjādanishīn* for the head of a *khānqāh*, who 'sits on the founder's rug'), wooden sandals, a rosary, and a rod. The *khalīfa* was then sent out to an area that was given to him as a *wilāyat*,

¹⁰ Bruce B. Lawrence, *Notes from a distant Flute*, London-Tehran 1978, p. 91. The Chishtis had a *jamā'atkhāna*, one large room; the Suhrawardis the *khānqāh*, which provided separate accommodation. Later, the term *khānqāh* was generally used. The *dāwīya* was a small place without contact with the world; even smaller was the *dā'ira*.

¹¹ Nizami, *Religion and Politics*, p. 209.

¹² Nizami, i.e. p. 219.

and in turn appointed vicegerents for the cities and villages where new centres were opened. The territorial limits for each Sufi master's *wilāyat* were precisely defined. By this arrangement a network of spiritual centres could be established all over the country. Among the Chishtis, who did not care much for family life or were even celibate, the *khalfā* was elected; in the Suhrawardiyya, succession in the family became the normal procedure.

The *jamā'atkhāna* was the centre of social life. Despite its external poverty, people from all strata of Indian society came there to find sympathy, consolation, or counsel; and scholars, government servants, business men and simple dervishes all ranked alike. The open kitchen (*langar*) was the manifestation of one of the foremost qualities of an ideal Muslim, i.e., of hospitality and generosity, but also an important contrast to Hindu social life, where a common kitchen for the members of different castes would be unthinkable.

Fariduddin Ganj-i Shakar had seven *khalfas*. His favourite among them was Jamaluddin Hanswi (d. 1261) who gratefully praised him:

Whosoever has a *Pir* as guide—for him
Is it easy to find union with the Friend.
My *pir* is *Farīd-i millat ū dīn*,
Who is the rose of Solomon's rose-bush.¹¹

For Jamal was a gifted poet who praised the simple life of the Sufis:

And this group who wear coarse black wool (*giltm*)
Are kings without the trouble of throne and crown.

His succinct, often tripartite, 'inspired sayings' (*mulhamāt*) contain a definition that became proverbial in India and is used all over the country to point to the ideal 'man of God', namely:

ṭalīb al-maulā mudhakkār...

The Seeker of the Lord is masculine,
The seeker of the other world is a catamite,
The seeker of this world is feminine.¹²

While Jamaluddin Hanswi represents the attractive, poetical aspect of the early Chishtiyya, his confrère 'Alī Sabir, 'the Patient' (d. 1291), with whom he apparently had not always friendly relations, was a stern, demanding master; his branch of the Chishtiyya later developed to great popularity.

Fariduddin's major *khalfā* was Nizamuddin Auliya from Bada'un, whose Turkish grandfather had come to India from Bukhara. Nizamuddin was a promising student of religious law when he met the master in 1257, at the age

¹¹ Ikram, *Armaghān-i Pak*, p. 108.

¹² Zubaid Ahmad, *The Contribution of Indo-Pakistan to Arabic Literature*, 2nd ed. Lahore 1968, p. 96.

of 21. Farid treated him rather harshly, for 'a *pīr* is a dresser of brides'. He studied with him parts of Suhrawardi's *ʿAwārif al-maʿārif*, and Nizamuddin, who had enjoyed in his early days the *Maqāmāt* of Hariri and memorized this brilliant Arabic work, now expiated for this frivolous pursuit by committing to memory Saghani's collection of *ḥadīth*, the *Mashāriq al-anwār*. He visited Fariduddin only three times before he was appointed his *khalīfa* in Delhi, where he lived for sixty years as the undisputed spiritual leader of the community, 'a peer of Bayezid and Junaid'.—It would be too much to take at face value Barani's statement that thanks to him most Muslims in the capital became inclined to mysticism and prayer, and vices like drinking disappeared.⁵⁵ That contradicts the political reality. However, Sufism, thanks to Nizamuddin's activity, became certainly more of a mass movement than before, and the list of works supplied by Barani as spiritual staple food of the people of Delhi comprises all the classics of Islamic mysticism. Perhaps people enjoyed reading them to forget the cruel everyday life in the late 13th century...

The eloquent preacher Nizamuddin, tenderly called *Mahbūb-i ilāhī*, attracted many friends from all strata of society. Sultan ʿAlaʿuddin's unlucky son, Khizr Khan, was bound to him 'by bonds of affection and sanctity'⁵⁶; but his favourite was Amir Khusrau (1253-1325), 'the Parrot of India', poet, courtier, and musician, and author of sophisticated lyrics as well as of the first *mathnawīs* that dealt with contemporary events. Legend tells that he became a poet after the saint had put some of his saliva into his mouth, and he praises his master in more than one highflown poem:

Your *dargāh* is the *qibla*, and the angels
Are flying like pigeons around your roof...

It is said that at the master's death Amir Khusrau, called 'God's Turk' by Nizamuddin, recited a Hindi verse:

Gorī soē sēj par, mukh par dalē kēs
Chal Khusrau ghar apnē, ruin bhāi chaudēs

The fair one sleeps on the bed with the tresses over his/her face
O Khusrau, go home now, for night has fallen over the world.

And he followed his master soon. They buried him close to him, and in later times people would attribute the disasters that befell Delhi in the 18th century to the fact that the tomb of Muhammad Shah (d. 1748) was placed between

⁵⁵ Barani, *Tārīkh-i Ferozshāhī*, p. 343 ff.

⁵⁶ Badaʿunī, *Muntakhab* I, transl. 267, but he continued that 'the prince never visited (the saint) when he performed his thanksgiving offerings for the restoration of his father's health'.

⁵⁷ Amir Khusrau, *Diwān-i kāmīl*, ed. M. Darwish, Tehran 1343 sh/1964, p. 599.

the tombs of Nizamuddin and Khusrau, so that the friends were separated by human folly.¹⁸

But more important for the actual history of Islam in India than the court poet Amir Khusrau is his close friend Hasan Sijzi whose graceful poems reflect a deeper religious feeling, more 'burning and melting' (Shibli) than most of Khusrau's highly artistic verse. It is he who made the image of the *kajkulāh*, 'who has his cap awry' popular in Indo-Persian poetry—a symbol of the Beloved that goes back to the alleged statement of the Prophet: "I saw my Lord in the form of a young man with his cap awry". This expression has largely coloured the verses of mystically inclined poets in Iran and even more in India. Hasan was also the first to note down the sayings (*malfūzāt*) of Nizamuddin Auliya, in a collection called *Fawā'id al-fu'ād*. From that time onward the genre of *malfūzāt* became an important vehicle to spread mystical thought; it offers the historian many insights into the religious and social conditions of medieval India which are usually not found in the official chronicles.¹⁹

Nizamuddin's successor in Delhi was Nasiruddin, called Chiragh-i Delhi, 'the Lamp of Delhi'. Coming from Oudh, he had studied *ḥadīth*, renounced the world at the age of 35, underwent seven years of hard asceticism, and finally joined Nizamuddin's circle. His *malfūzāt*, *Khair al-majālis*, reveal in a hundred discourses the picture of a sober, strictly *sharī'a*-bound master; for religious reasons he abolished the custom of prostration before the shaikh which was common in the earlier Chishtiyya. Muhammad Tughluq made life rather difficult for him so that he, like most spiritually-minded people in Delhi, welcomed Feroz Shah's accession. This ruler built his mausoleum, now almost ruined, after Chiragh-i Delhi had died in 1356. His disciple Mutahhar-i Garh devoted a threnody to him in which he sings that

The world produced a thousand kinds of sighs, complaints, and woes
at the demise of Master Nasiruddin Mahmud...

This same Mutahhar, usually regarded as a rather pedestrian poet, has also left a poem in which, *inter alia*, he describes the books which he studied, thus offering a good picture of a scholarly person's fields of interest:

...books of medicine, and of the historians Waqidi, of ethics and moral polishment that of
Nasiri (e.g., the *Akhlaq-i Nāsiri*),

¹⁸ Ahmed Ali, *Twilight in Delhi*, 2nd ed. Oxford 1966, p. 146.

¹⁹ For a mystical work by Hasan see Motasim A. Azad, 'Mukh-ul-Ma'ānī of Hasan-i Sijzi Dehlavi', *IC* XLIV 1970, a treatise in which the enthusiastic mystic claimed, i.e., that 'lovers are in some respect superior to Hazrat Khizr'.

of gnosis the *ʿAwārif (al-maʿārif)*, of ecstasy the *Fuṣūṣ (al-hikam)*, of sermons and advice, the book of Sari...⁴⁰

Among the later Chishtis of Delhi, Masʿūd Bakk (exec. 1387) is worthy of mention. ʿAbdulhaqq Dihlawi writes about this ecstatic who gave up a position at court to become a mystic:

Among the Chishtis, no one has spoken of the secrets of truth in such an open and unguarded manner, and no one was so given to mystical intoxication as he was.

Indeed, his *Mirʿat al-ʿarifin* is among the first Indian works in which Ibn ʿArabi's influence—mentioned in passing by Mutahhar—becomes visible, and Masʿūd Bakk's lyrical poems sing of the experience of all-embracing unity and thus set the model for innumerable mystical verses in India:

On the Buraq of unity in Nowhere (*lā-makān*)
Did we sit and run to every direction...⁴¹

Even later mystical folk poetry seems to be presaged in some of his lines. When he describes the miraculous effect of the *dhikr* in the heart:

We have raised in the midst of the soul's garden
The bud of the heart with the water of the recollection of the Friend...⁴²

one immediately thinks of the first verse of Sultan Bahu's (d. 1692) famous Panjabi Golden Alphabet (see p. 142).

One more member of the Chishtiyya played an important literary role during Muhammad ibn Tughluq's days. That was Ziaʿuddin Nakhshabi, who led a quiet life in those unquiet days, about which he complains:

No fragrance of faithfulness remains among men,
Virtue (true manliness) has become rare among men.
...Mercury's sheets have been rent,
And Venus' tambourine doeth no longer sound...⁴³

Nakhshabi, who did not belong to the major *silṣila* but is one of the few spiritual descendants of Hamiduddin Nagauri, lived in Badaʿun where he

⁴⁰ Ikram, *Armaghān-i Pak*, p. 124 (both poems). Waqidi's *Kitāb al-maghāzī*, Nasiruddin Tusi's *Akhlaq-i Nāsiri*, Shihabuddin ʿUmar Suhrawardi's *ʿAwārif al-maʿārif* and Ibn ʿArabi's *Fuṣūṣ al-hikam* were eagerly studied in 14th century India; the 'book of Sari' is probably a work by the Bagdadian Sufi Sari as-Saqati (d. ca. 867).

⁴¹ Ikram, l.c. p. 150.

⁴² Id.

⁴³ Ikram, l.c. 139. The oldest Indian illustrated manuscript of the *Tutīnāme: Tutī Nama, Tales of a Parrot*. Complete Color Facsimile Edition in Original Size of the Ms. in the Cleveland Museum of Art, with a separate volume of commentary by Pramod Chandra, Graz 1977; M. S. Simsar, (transl. and ed.), *The Cleveland Museum of Art's Tutī-Name. 'Tales of a parrot'...*, Graz 1978.

composed important mystical and ethical works, including the *Ladhdhat an-nisā*, a Persian version of the *Kokashastra*; but his immortal contribution to literature is the *Tuḥf-nāma*, which he finished in 1330, based on a Sanskrit tale. With this book, which was retold, abbreviated, and later translated into many Indian vernaculars as well as in Western languages, he blended for the first time Indian tradition and Persian artistic form, and the illustrations of the *Tuḥf-nāma*, painted again in India, represent a second instance of a successful fusion of the two traditions.

Muhammad Tughluq's dispersion of the intelligentsia and particularly the Sufis to Daulatabad paralyzed the central activities of the Chishtis and was resented by the mystics since it meant an interference with their respective *wilayats*, their fixed areas of influence. However, it led to the development of new branches of the order in Southern India. One of Nizamuddin's disciples, Mir Khurd, composed the first history of the order as a kind of atonement for having deserted—though unwillingly—his master's shrine: his *Siyar al-auliya* is indispensable despite its tendency to include legendary material. Another Chishti, Burhanuddin Gharib, died in Daulatabad in 1340; an enthusiastic lover of music to whom a special kind of *samā*^c was attributed, he is remembered in the name of the city of Burhanpur which was founded some decades after his death by one of his devotees and was to develop into an important centre of learning and mysticism. Burhanuddin certainly knew the young boy whose father had been expelled to the South like him and who returned later to his native Delhi to become a disciple of Chiragh-i Delhi, i.e. Muhammad Gesudaraz, who was to become the leading Chishti Sufi of the Deccan (see p. 52).

Almost at the same time as the Chishtiyya was consolidated in India, the second great order in the Subcontinent also became active—the Suhrawardiyya, whose first master was Baha'uddin Zakariya Multani. Born from a Quraish family in 1182 near Multan, he went to the central Islamic lands to study *ḥadīth*, and when he finally met Abu Hafs Suhrawardi in Baghdad, this teacher found him ready 'as dry wood to catch fire'. Returning to Multan, Baha'uddin soon gained many followers, although his lifestyle differed considerably from the austere, God-trusting, yet emotionally charged atmosphere of his Chishti neighbours. His *khānqāh* was well run; he had fixed hours for reception. Instead of devoting himself to continuous austerities he rather preferred to keep a well-filled granary in order to be able to spend lavishly. He was probably the richest saint in medieval India, so that once one of his sons was kidnapped and released only on the payment of a huge ransom. Some Chishti leaders blamed him for his 'worldliness', but he answered ironically, "Your dervishdom has no beauty or attraction. Our dervishdom has immense

beauty. Wealth is like a black dot averting the evil eye".⁴⁴ Again contrary to the Chishtis, Baha'uddin Zakariya accepted government grants and cooperated with those rulers whom he found acceptable, following with Najibuddin Suhrawardi the Koranic device: 'Obey God and His Prophet and obey those with authority among you' (Sura 4/59). Thus, he cooperated with Iltutmish as his successors cooperated with Feroz Tughluq.

Baha'uddin was blessed with the *nafs-i girā*, an unusual ability to control the minds of his disciples and polish their hearts. The story of Fakhruddin 'Iraqi (d. 1289), who lived for twenty-five years at his *dargāh*, is the best example of his magnetic personality, and although the Suhrawardiyya is basically against *samā'*, Baha'uddin did not mind the enthusiastic love songs of 'Iraqi, culminating in the oft-repeated *ghazal*:

The first wine that they put in the goblet,

They had to borrow from the cupbearer's intoxicated eye...⁴⁵

And one can still meet musicians who sing 'Iraqi's *ghazals* before the majestic Suhrawardi tombs in Multan.

While the early Chishtis were rather indifferent to family life, so that the lack of warmth in the family made most sons of the early leaders swerve from the mystical path, Baha'uddin Zakariya looked well after his family. One of his seven sons succeeded him, but the most outstanding descendant of the saint was his grandson Ruknuddin (d. 1335), who deeply impressed the people of Sind, attracting even *ulema* into his circle. He openly stated that a good shaikh needed three things: money to help the needy, learning to solve the problems of the scholars, and spiritual ability for guidance. Ruknuddin's tomb in Multan, built on a hill overlooking the crowded city, is one of the most magnificent examples of early Muslim architecture: an octagon of 9.30 meters per side in typical Tughluq style with slightly slanting walls. The dome, on a tambour 45.40 meters in circumference is the second largest in India.

Other saints of the Suhrawardiyya were active in the South and the East. The name of Jalaluddin Tabrizi (d. 1244) is connected with the first steps of introducing the order in Bengal, but nothing is known about his successors. In Sylhet, his tomb with a pond filled with fishes is still venerated. Another Suhrawardi preacher, Qazi Hamiduddin Nagauri (d. 1244) was a friend of the leading Chishtis and, like them, fond of *samā'*. Most erudite, he had only three disciples; yet, his books *Lawā'ih 'ishqiyya* and *Tawāli' ash-shumūs* (about the 99 names of God) were highly esteemed among the medieval Sufis.

⁴⁴ Nizami, *Religion and Politics*, p. 228.

⁴⁵ See A. Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam*, Univ. of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill 1975, p. 352.

The main line of the Suhrawardiyya continued from Multan, where the *saj-jadanishīn* still plays an important role in the social and political setting, and from Ucc. Among Baha'uddin's disciples was a *sayyid* from Bukhara, Jalaluddin Surkh. His son in turn became Ruknuddin's disciple and settled in Ucc, where his son Jalaluddin Husain was born in 1308. Travelling all over the Islamic world in search of *ḥadīth* and religious knowledge, Jalaluddin was soon called *Jahangasht*, 'the world-traveller'. It does not matter whether he really performed the pilgrimage thirty-six times. (Interestingly, in one of his numerous visits to Delhi, where he used to see Feroz Shah, he received a *khirqā* from Chiragh-i Dihlawī, thus establishing spiritual links with the Chishtiyya). The saint was an indefatigable worker, composing books mainly on Prophetic traditions, and this activity as well as his spiritual influence in Multan and Sind earned him the honorific name of *Makhdūm-i jahāniyān*, 'he who is served by the inhabitants of the world'. His influence over Sind enabled him to bring about a reconciliation between Feroz Shah and the Jam of Sind during Feroz Shah's expedition to Thatta. On the whole, Makhdum-i jahaniyan belongs to the most orthodox saints of Indo-Pakistan; he maintained that God is not to be invoked by Indian names, as was apparently the case among more ecstatic mystics who might use Indian addresses in mystical songs in the vernacular; the story of a pious Hindu who was sentenced to death at Makhdum-i jahaniyan's deathbed for alleged apostasy from Islam has often been retold. But in the course of time the scholarly Makhdum became transformed into a very resourceful saint whose name, pronounced over water with the some other formulas, was even believed to cure piles...⁶⁶

Another development of the Ucc Bukhari line is even more surprising: it seems that the *jalālī* dervishes, who are noted in Indian Sufi history as notoriously *bē sharʿ* (outside the religious law), can be traced back to Jalal Surkh Bukhari. They and their consolidated form in Iran, the Khaksar, are Shiites, as are some recent descendants of the Ucc Bukharis.⁶⁷

Another smaller order which nevertheless was very influential in Bihar during the Tughluq period was the Firdausiyya branch of the Kubrawiyya. The greatest representative of this order is Sharafuddin Yahya Maneri (d. 1380); like his father-in-law, Abu Taw'ama of Sonargaon, he was a good scholar of *ḥadīth* in which science he had quite a few disciples. Sharafuddin Makhdum ul-mulk composed several books for guidance, such as a commentary on Najibuddin Suhrawardi's *Ādāb al-murīdīn*, but most famous are the collections of his letters, among them the *Maktūbāt-i ṣādī*, a hundred letters

⁶⁶ Jafar Sharif/Herclots, *Islam in India*, p. 259.

⁶⁷ Id., see also R. Gramlich, *Die schiitischen Derwischorden, Teil I, Die Affiliationen*, Wiesbaden 1965, p. 71.

about the tenets of mystical life. They were used in the *madrasas* during the Moghul period, and both Akbar and Aurangzeb were fond of them; indeed, they belong to that category of Sufi literature which can be enjoyed even by a modern reader since they do not lead him into a labyrinth of technical terms but stress love of God and service of humanity:

Prayer, fasting and voluntary worship are good as far as they go, but they are not as useful as making others happy.

Understandably, Sharafuddin Maneri who, like the early Chishtis, regarded government service as 'an infidel's girdle (*zunnār*) of steel' is still venerated in Bihar, and his importance is revealed by the fact that he inspired at least nine collections of *maifūzāt*.

Not only the great established orders were active during the early Sultanate period. Strange *qalandars* and disquieting members of the Haidari sect appeared in the capital and the provinces, wearing iron necklaces and bracelets; they sometimes disturbed the people, but also the serious Sufis with their eccentric behavior and their unchecked demands. Their 'calculated impropriety' was 'designed to question the atmosphere of reverence which surrounded the presiding Sufi *shaikh*'.⁸⁸ Two saints with the surname *Qalandar* have gained special fame—one is a poet from the Chishti environment, Bu 'Ali Qalandar of Panipat, a model of self-mortification, but also of overflowing love and enthusiasm. Widely travelled, he even visited Konya and perhaps saw Rumi's son Sultan Walad; from his mystical *mathnawīs* it becomes clear that he was well acquainted with Rumi's *Mathnawī*, a book that was to inspire kings and poets, mystics and mullas alike. Suffering in love was Bu 'Ali's ideal, and he added to the traditional Sufi triad of 'little food, little sleep, little talk' a fourth tenet, i.e. 'endurance of people's oppression'. And when Rumi classifies the ascetic as one who seeks mercy (*rahīma*) while the lover seeks pain (*zahīma*), Bu 'Ali Qalandar exclaims:

The way of the ascetic is nothing but the way of purity—
The way of the lover is nothing but the palate of the crocodile.

In his letters he spoke 'with the tongue of enthusiastic love and charity, comprising spiritual knowledge and realization of the profession of Divine Oneness, of giving up the world and seeking the other world and love of the Lord', as 'Abdulhaqq Dihlawi states in the *Akhbār al-akhyār*. His tomb in Panipat was one of the centres where the Qalandars used to gather.

Even more famous than this loving and lovable poet, who probably died in 1323, is La'ī Shabbaz Qalandar, an ascetic from Sistān, who had settled in the mid 13th century in Sehwan in the lower Indus valley, site of an old Shiva

⁸⁸ Digby, *Qalandars*, Ms. p. 24. His article is the source for the following paragraph.

sanctuary. Barani speaks of his visit at the court of Balban's son in Multan, and Baha'uddin Zakariya allegedly granted him *khilafat*.⁶⁸ Although he was, according to tradition, a strict ascetic, he is also called a *malāmatī*, and his surname *qalandar* points to his unusual lifestyle, which—as is said—manifested itself in his wearing red garments and using narcotics or intoxicants. A Persian poem ascribed to him takes up the motif of dancing⁶⁹—ecstatically, the mystic dances in the fire, and on the gallows. Such lines place him in the succession of Hallaj, the martyr of love. The date of his death is unknown; Feroz Shah built a mausoleum for him in 1357.

The dervishes that gathered around him and continued his veneration, belong to the *bē-sharʿ* dervishes, placing themselves outside the religious law. Dressed in black, with shaven heads, these *malang* still perform their ecstatic songs on Thursday evenings, while the festivities during the anniversary of his death have lately been purged from long famous immoral accretions.⁷⁰ But the hymn in honour of Laʿl Shahbaz Qalandar, the 'Red Falcon', has lately become a kind of hit in Pakistan.

⁶⁸ Digby, l.c., Ms. p. 28.

⁶⁹ H. S. Sadarangani, *Persian Poets of Sind*, Karachi 1956, p. 8.

⁷⁰ A facetious account in Richard F. Burton, *Sind revisited*, II 185-193; s.a. Peter Mayne's amusing description in *Saints of Sind*, London 1956.

CHAPTER TWO

THE TIME OF INDEPENDENT STATES— THE GROWTH OF SHIA ISLAM

Delhi

When Timur crossed the Indus,

he had 100,000 Hindus slain with the sword of Holy War, and Maulana Nasiruddin, one of the chief ecclesiastics, who in all his life had never slaughtered a sheep, put 15 Hindus to the sword.¹

This account may or may not be true, but it certainly points to the incredible ferocity which marked Timur's attacks on India as elsewhere. It was not only the 'infidel Hindus' who had to suffer: his coreligionists were treated with similar cruelty. After his invasion the northwestern part of the Subcontinent was depopulated, and Delhi remained 'little more than a cemetery' for the next century because the rulers that were in charge of the capital after 1398 were barely capable of maintaining, let alone expanding their empire. The last Tughluq sultan acted for twenty years as a mere puppet of various factions at the court.

In 1414 Sayyid Khizr Khan took over the reins—a man whose *Sayyid*-ship was doubtful. Khizr Khan had the *khuṭba* read in the name of the Timurid Shahrukh, thus perpetuating Timur's rule over Northwest India, and assumed the title of *nā'ib amīr al-mu'minīn* on his coins. His successor, Mubarakshah, tried to restore the Punjab and took up once more the struggle against the unruly Mewatis in the environment of Delhi. After only 37 years the Sayyid dynasty was overthrown—'emerging as the principality of Multan, it ended as the principality of Bada'un'.² But almost a century and a half later the historian Bada'uni mentions that a descendant of the Sayyids claimed to be inspired by the great Sufi saint 'Abdulqadir Gilani (d. 1166) to wage a *jihād* in India.

As short as the Sayyid period was, it yet formed a kind of watershed in Indo-Muslim history since new centres of Islamic culture began to grow in other parts of the Subcontinent. Not only was the hitherto predominant Sunni form of Islam practiced, but Shiism in its different branches also played an important role.

¹ Kamaluddin 'Abdurrazzaq, 'Maṭla' as-sa'dain' in H. Elliot, *Studies in Indian History*, 2nd ed. 1958, p. 99.

² *A Comprehensive History of India*, V, p. 663.

The Sayyids were followed by the Lodis, a clan of the Ghilzai Afghans who had lived around Multan for a long time and had risen to prominence in the days of Feroz Tughluq. While in Multan the Langah Shaikhs assumed power (1443-1524), the Lodis attempted to fortify the remnants of the Delhi empire. Their rule was, after Afghan fashion, oligarchic, with the nobles involved in the governing and consulting process. The first Lodi Sultan, Bahlul (1451-1489) was able to defeat the powerful neighbour state of Jaunpur in 1479 after prolonged hostilities; it is told that when Husain Sharqi of Jaunpur once marched against Delhi, the Sultan went to Bakhtiar Kaki's mausoleum 'and prayed there the whole night, standing on foot', for he was extremely pious and 'spent most of his time in the assemblies of the wise and in the society of holy men', as he was also very regular in his ritual prayers. His piety was inherited and at times even exceeded by his son Iskandar, who, during the struggle for succession, went to obtain the blessings of a Suhrawardi saint in Delhi before he had himself crowned. The handsome young man—so attractive that he even became the cynosure of a pious shaikh's eyes—was, like his father, keen on the performance of rituals duties and generously helped the poor, particularly during Ramadan and on the 12th Rabi'ul-awwal, the anniversary of the Prophet's death. He was also interested in non-religious sciences, and many scholars from Arabia, Iran, and Multan came to his new capital, Agra, to teach logic, philosophy, and history. Among them was Shaikh 'Abdullah Multani, who systematized *ma'qalat*, rational sciences, and from among whose students emerged more than forty expert scholars. Sultan Sikandar himself sometimes listened to his lectures. Among the court poets, Hamid Jamali Kanboh, a Suhrawardi mystic, was the outstanding figure and had to correct his Sultan's verse. He was widely travelled, as he sings:

Sometimes in Anatolia, sometimes in Syria,
I have given myself not a moment of rest.
Walking in every valley, alone and without anyone
Sometimes in Egypt and sometimes in Jerusalem,
Running like a [tear] drop due to the burning of my heart
Sometimes in Mecca, sometimes in Medina...³

In this way Jamali established relations between Indian and foreign Sufis and poets, like Jami of Herat. He also sometimes wrote poetry in Hindi and set it to music, and one of the best known Persian verses in praise of the Prophet is by him:

Moses lost his senses at one manifestation of the Attributes:
You regard the Essence Itself and still smile...⁴

³ Ikram, *Armaghān-i Pak*, p. 155.

⁴ Id. p. 158.

Jamali's *Siyar al-ʿarīfīn* is regarded as a classic in Indian hagiography, although 'it is not entirely free from defects and discrepancies'.¹

Sikandar Lodi's attitude towards religion was more orthodox than that of his father. He prohibited some popular forms of worship like the annual procession of Salar Masʿud's spear, for the festivities in honour of this martyr saint of Bahraich had grossly degenerated. He also forbade women to visit the tombs of saints and disallowed the display of *taziya* during the month of Muharram. This rigid orthodoxy had its repercussions particularly in his dealings with the Hindus: his *malik al-ʿulamā*, ʿAbdullah of Ajodhan, had to prevent him from killing the Hindus who assembled for a certain festivity at Kurkhat, but he did destroy temples at Mathura, Krishna's birthplace, which had been regarded from the days of Mahmud of Ghazna (1017) as the 'mine of heathenism'. Particularly unfeeling was his order to distribute the broken stone images of temples in Nagarkot to Muslim butchers to use them as meat weights... Yet, it was during his time that a greater number of Hindus began to learn Persian, the language of administration and literature.

The story told about Sikandar's death in 1520 points to his close relation with devout people; allegedly his final illness was due to the curse of a *hājji* to whom he had not shown enough reverence. On the whole, Sikandar Lodi was a rather successful king, but his son, Ibrahim, was finally defeated in 1526 by Babur, the founder of the branch of the Timurid house known as the Great Moghuls.

One trend during the 15th century in Northwest India is particularly important for the history of religions. Sufism was penetrating every corner of Muslim India, and as a reaction, popular, more emotional currents in Hinduism began to emerge. It is quite certain that the powerful *bhakti* movement with its religious literature in the vernacular was largely inspired by the preaching of the Sufis, who emphasized love of God as the centre of life. On the other hand, influences of *Nātha siddhas* on certain esoteric practices of some Sufis are also known. On this basis rapprochement of Islam and Hinduism seemed possible, all the more since many ideas and formulations known to the devotees of Lord Krishna from the *Bhagavadgītā* were expressed in very similar terms in the major works of Sufism, such as Rumi's *Mathnawī*. Thus in the Punjab both Guru Nanak and Kabir the Weaver sang in their verses of a religion without the whole framework of rituals, a religion of devotion and love. Are not *Rām* and *ar-Rahmān* the same? Kabir voices his aversion to the outward rites of Islam in a verse that was, as many of his songs, incorporated in the *Ādi Granth*, the sacred book of the Sikh community:

¹ Badaʿunī, *Muntakhab* II, transl. 430, text 325.

If one will become a Turk (= Muslim) by being circumcised—
 What shall be done with a woman?
 As the woman does not give up her half-bodied state,
 She must therefore remain a Hindu.⁶

Kabir's poetry also served his followers, the Kabirpanthis, as a devotional book, for instead of achieving a greater unity among religions his followers too crystallized into a sect of their own. His verses, as they have recently been made available by Charlotte Vaudeville, are quite different in their demanding asceticism and burning love from the picture of the soft-spoken mystic singing in melting lyricism of sweet love, as earlier translations had shown him to the West.⁷ As for Guru Nanak's Sikh community, which began as a mystical, contemplative movement aiming at unification, it was to turn into a militant, active community due to the political development in the later Moghul period.

Malwa

Among the kingdoms that assumed independence after Timur's invasion was Malwa, south of Delhi. Dilawar Khan, a descendant of Mu'izzuddin Ghori, became its governor in 1392 and sheltered Mahmud Tughluq during Timur's sack of Delhi; his son Hushang declared his independence in 1406. He fortified the capital Mandu, and the mosque built there is one of the finest examples of Pathan architecture. Hushang, interested in expanding the trade of his kingdom, also encouraged the Jains, traditionally expert businessmen. Malwa reached its greatest expansion under Mahmud Khalji (1436-1469), who tried to extend the borders to Jaunpur, Gujarat and the Deccan. Mahmud is one of the last central Indian rulers to have connections with the Abbasid caliph in Egypt and to get an investiture from him.

For the whole setting of Islam in those days it seems typical that Mahmud was asked for help by the ruler of Champaner, a Hindu who had been attacked by Muhammad Shah of Gujarat in 1450. In order to do so without religious qualms, Mahmud obtained a *fatwā* from the ulema who sanctioned this attempt to render assistance to a *kāfir* against a Muslim. Politics and self-preservation were apparently more important than purely religious considerations. It fits into this approach that Mahmud destroyed Hindu temples in the enemy's land but did not interfere with the worship of his own Hindu subjects.

Among the religious personalities that were attracted to Malwa one may mention Najmuddin Ghauth ad-dahr Qalandar who boasted of many

⁶ *Adi Granth*, transl. by E. Trumpp, London 1877, p. 655.

⁷ Charlotte Vaudeville, *Kabir, I*, Oxford Univ. Press 1974.

miracles, among which his longevity is most striking; he died in 1432, allegedly at the age of some 200 (!) years! More influential, however, were Shah 'Abdullah Shattari, known as *Ḥaẓrat-i a'la*, and his followers. The Shattari order derives its inspiration from Bayezid Bistami, and its ultimate claim *anā waḥdī lā sharīk li*, 'I am one, and have no companion' to express the perfect union of the saint with God may have developed out of Bayezid's exclamation *Subḥānī*, 'Glory be to me!'.² 'Abdullah Shattari used to march with his disciples with drums playing and banners flying—that was his way to call people to God. It is also said that he studied Yoga and composed some songs in Hindi, a tradition that continued later in the order. His wanderings took him to Iran as well as to Bengal, and he died in 1485 after rendering some spiritual assistance to Sultan Ghiyathuddin Khalji during the siege of Chitor. Jahangir built a mausoleum for him at Mandu. Malwa lost its independence first in 1531 when it was incorporated in Gujarat, but regained it for a brief period in 1537.

Jaunpur

More important in the history of Indian Islam than Malwa was Jaunpur, a city founded in 1359 on the lower Gupti river. Feroz Shah's Grand Eunuch and Master of the Elephant stable, Khwaja Jahan Malik Sarwar, who was in charge of Jaunpur, received the title *Malik ash-sharq* and became nearly independent after Timur's invasion. His adopted son Karanful followed him in 1400 as Mubarak Shah. Jaunpur gained special importance under the Sharqi king Ibrahim Shah, the vestiges of whose powerful reign are preserved in the Atala Mosque. Under him and his successors the city became much more important than Delhi and was proudly called *Shīrāz-i Hind* thanks to the great number of scholars who settled there during the reigns of Ibrahim and his son Mahmud, who erected the Jami' Masjid in 1438 (two years after ascending the throne). One of the greatest scholars of the age, Shihabuddin Daulatabadi (d. 1445), the *malik al-'ulamā*, lived in Jaunpur and served as chief *qāḍī*. Among his books, which became standard works in Indian *madrasas*, *al-Irshād* on Arabic syntax was particularly successful, and so was his *Sharḥ-i hindī*, a commentary of the *Kāfiyya* of Ibn Malik, another standard work on Arabic grammar. Daulatabadi also commented upon Pazdawi's *Uṣūl al-fiqh* and wrote a Persian commentary on the Koran, called *Baḥr-i mawwāj*. As a *qāḍī*, he was largely responsible for the collection of juridical decisions made

² For the problem of *anā* s. H. Landolt, 'Deux opuscules de Semnani sur le Moi théophanique', in *Mélanges Henri Corbin*, ed. S. H. Nasr, Tehran 1977.

in Ibrahim Sharqi's time, the *Fatāwā-i ibrahīmshāhī*. But the scholar, to whom Ibrahim Shah was deeply attached, was more than a grammarian and scholastic theologian. During his early years he had studied in Delhi under two *khalīfas* of the Chishti saint Chiragh-i Delhi before leaving the capital at the time of Timur's invasion. And like almost every educated person in Muslim India, the *qāḍī* now and then wrote some Persian poetry.

The Sharqi kingdom gave shelter to quite a few Sufis. There was, in the first place, the Chishti saint Ashraf Jahangir Simnani, a man who had travelled widely in Iran. He was first a follower of the Kubrawi saint 'Ala'uddaula Simnani, but later disagreed with his negative attitude toward Ibn 'Arabi's *waḥdat al-wujūd*. It is possible that he reached India along with his confrère, Sayyid 'Alī Hamadhani, who also left Iran in the wake of Timur's appearance. In Bengal, Ashraf Jahangir was initiated into the Chishtiyya by 'Ala'uddin Lahori Bangali, the spiritual leader of the master of Pandua, Qutb-i 'Alam. Then he settled in Jaunpur State in a place where Yogis lived and which was regarded as infested with evil djinns. His hospice in Kichhauchha is still visited by mentally deranged, 'djinn-obsessed' people who hope for a powerful exorcism. Ashraf Jahangir left interesting discourses (*Latā'if-i ashrafi*), and the letters which he exchanged with his mystical colleagues, such as Gesudaraz in the Deccan, discuss the problems of *waḥdat al-wujūd* and other lofty questions. But they also had political importance: in 1414 Ibrahim Sharqi was invited to interfere in Bengal, for Qutb-i 'Alam of Pandua had written to his confrère (*pīr bhāi*) Ashraf Jahangir to persuade the Sultan to march against Raja Ganesh of Bengal who was molesting the Muslims, and the threat of the powerful Sharqi king's interference was enough to curb the Raja's ambitions (sec. p. 48).²

Not too far from Kichhauchha, farther west in Rudauli, another member of the Chishtiyya settled in the days of Ibrahim Sharqi. That was Ahmad 'Abdulhaqq, a spiritual descendant of Fariduddin Ganj-i Shakar's stern, ascetic disciple 'Alī Sabir who had received his surname 'Patient' for his almost superhuman patience in afflictions. The attitude of the Sabiriyya, recognizable by their robes of shades ranging from cinnamon to rose, is generally closer to the *mysterium tremendum, jalāl*, than that of the Nizami branch, derived from Nizamuddin Auliya, which represents more the aspect of the *fascinans, jamāl*. 'Abdulhaqq of Rudauli died in 1434; among his followers 'Abdulquddus Gangohi has gained the greatest fame. He left the centre in 1491 to settle in Gangoh in the Delhi kingdom, to whose

² Lawrence, *Notes from a distant Flute*, p. 55. That would require to change the generally accepted date of Jahangir's death from 1405 to some time after 1415; Lawrence himself gives 1427, in (ed.) *The Rose and the Rock*, Univ. of North Carolina, Durham, 1979, p. 51.

rulers—Lodis and first Moghuls—he sent forceful letters. He died there in 1538. The worldview of *wahdat al-wujūd*, discussed by the Indian Sufis for the last 150 years, is fully developed in his work, although he, like other followers of Ibn ‘Arabi, never neglected the outward rituals. His *Rushdnāma* contains Hindi verses and has incorporated Hāthayoga ideas, a trend that seems typical for the early Sabiriyya.¹⁰ Recently, ‘Abdulquddus was branded as the typical representative of an ‘intoxicated’, ‘mystical’ approach to the Truth as contrasted with the ‘sober’ ‘prophetical’ attitude: Iqbal begins the fifth chapter of his *Lectures* with the mystic’s saying:

Muhammad of Arabia ascended the highest heaven and returned. I swear by God that if I had reached that point, I should never have returned.¹¹

The Sabiriyya Chishtiyya remained influential into the late 19th and the 20th centuries, when not only saints like Warith Shah of Dewa Sharif (d. 1903) but more importantly the founding fathers of the theological seminar of Deoband were initiated in this order, stressing, however, its law-bound, not its reconciliatory aspect.

But to mention Jaunpur in the 15th century immediately evokes the name of one of the most fascinating figures in medieval Indian Islam, the so-called Mahdi of Jaunpur. Born in 1443, Sayyid Muhammad Kazimi left Jaunpur at the age of forty to perform the pilgrimage. It was in Mecca during the *tawāf* in 1495 that he declared himself to be the promised *mahdī*. The ulema of Mecca, wisely enough, did not care for his claim; but returning to India he experienced clashes with the ulema when he settled in Ahmadabad in 1497. Although the Gujarati Sultan Mahmud Begra seems to have accepted his claims to a certain extent, the ulema demanded his banishment and even death. ‘The narrowmindedness of worldlings made India intolerable to him’ (Abu’ l-Fazl), and he had to lead the life of a fugitive until he died in Farah in Khorassan in 1505, leaving a number of *khalifas* to continue his work.

His community ascribed miracles to him, such as resurrecting the dead and healing the blind; but it seems that Sayyid Muhammad was nothing but a very serious, orthodox Sufi. Even a critical writer like Bada’uni praises him and his followers highly for their piety, knowledge and sincerity. His main tenets are certainly Sufi: to give up the world (the Lord had not permitted him to use the sword!), to trust completely in God and to remember God often—the *dhikr*, centre of Sufi life, was raised to the level of faith. Like other early mystical

¹⁰ S. A. A. Rizvi, who always tries to prove the contacts between Sufis and Yogis and other Hindu mystics, mentions that Gorakhnath’s name occurs in his work, see *Religious and Intellectual History of the Muslims in Akbar’s Reign*, New Delhi 1975, p. 35.

¹¹ Iqbal, *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, Lahore 1930, Beginning of Chapter V.

leaders he insisted upon the equal distribution of material possessions among the members of the group (*dāʿira*), as Badaʿuni graphically describes in his account of Shaikh ʿAlaʿi's persecution.¹² His followers were to live peacefully, not mixing with the general body of Muslims.

When Badaʿuni was asked about Sayyid Muhammad's claims to be the *mahdī* he stated that he probably had voiced this claim 'on account of his assumption of the authority to issue authoritative orders and prohibitions in religious matters', and a modern scholar like M. Mujeeb follows this explanation. Sayyid Muhammad indeed gathered not only a few faithful disciples but an active group of followers, although his claim certainly hindered the orthodox from appreciating his positive contributions to a purification of Islam and a deeper understanding of its tenets. Impressed by his wholehearted devotion, a considerable number of remarkable figures in the early 16th century were Mahdawis, thus the ascetic vegetarian Burhanuddin of Kalpi who died in 1562-3 at the age of hundred years; he was one of the saintly people who sometimes wrote Hindi poetry, and his most eminent disciple was Malik Muhammad Jaʿisi, the poet. Shaikh Mubarak, the father of Akbar's trusted friends Faizi and Abu'l-Fazl was at least very close to the Mahdawis, although it is doubtful whether he for some time actively belonged to the sect. The Suris, especially Islam Shah, mercilessly persecuted the Mahdawis (see p. 76). *Dāʿiras* were set up in Gujarat and Sind, and in 1524 a battle between Mahdawis and the Gujarati army is mentioned, although two later Gujarati rulers, Ahmad III (1554-1561) and his successor Muzaffar (1561-1573) are reported to have had Mahdawi inclinations. That was also the case with a number of Deccani nobles in Ahmadnagar and Golkonda; the result were numerous clashes between them and the Shi'a 'newcomers'. Mahdawi currents continued under Akbar, and it was during his reign that the traditionist Muhammad Tahir Patani became a victim of the Sunni-Mahdawi struggle (1578). The movement was persecuted under Aurangzeb, and reverted to *taqiya*, 'dissimulation'; smaller groups survive in the Deccan, Mysore, Jaipur, Gujarat and Sind. Once in a while religious fanaticism flares up; but whatever the attitude of the Mahdawis may be, most scholars agree that Sayyid Muhammad of Jaunpur belongs to the finest and most sincere defenders of true Islamic life in the later Middle Ages.

Kashmir

Early Persian poetry sings of the enchanting beauties of Kashmir, although the country for a long time remained outside the Muslim world. The history of

¹² Badaʿuni, *Muntakhab* III, transl. 110, text 67 f.

the valley of Kashmir is quite different from that of the kingdoms in the plains or in the Deccan. Mahmud of Ghazna tried to invade it but without success. It remained under indigenous rulers until the Mongols invaded the valley in 1320 and largely destroyed the prevalent social structure. Shortly before the Mongol cataclysm some foreigners had settled in Kashmir, one of them being Shah Mir from Swat. It has been suggested that he belonged to a Sufi—perhaps Qadiri—family. He built up his influence by marriage alliances with leading families, and when Rinchan from Baltistan proclaimed himself king after the Mongols had left, Shah Mir became his minister. The Hindus did not accept Rinchan since he was not of brahmanical descent, hence his interest shifted toward Islam, and he was instructed in its tenets by a Sufi, Sharafuddin Bulbul Shah, a Suhrawardi saint who had reached the country, as legend tells, 'with a thousand disciples'. The king, who continued ruling as Sadruddin, built the first mosque and a large *langarkhāna* in Srinagar. Finally, after some confusion, Shamsuddin Shah Mir himself ascended the throne in 1339. With his grandson Shihabuddin (1354-1374) the Islamic administration was given a solid basis.

It was during Shihabuddin's reign that an important member of the Kubrawiyya Dhahabiyya order, Sayyid 'Ali Hamadhami, arrived in Kashmir. He had wandered through the Islamic lands and reached Kashmir in 1371; it is said that 700 *sayyids* from Iran accompanied him. But that may be just a tale to explain the immigration of numerous *sayyids* who in the following years found shelter in the peaceful valley after fleeing from Timur.

'Ali Hamadhami was a prolific writer whose works comprise various fields—from collections of traditions and commentaries of Ibn al-Farid's *Khamriyya* or Ibn 'Arabi's *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam* to a handbook of Counsel for Kings. He is a representative of the sober, though psychologically highly fascinating Kubrawiyya tradition, and he became instrumental in the conversion of many Kashmiris, trying also to make Shihabuddin's successor, Qutbuddin (1374-1389), a more conscious Muslim. Sayyid 'Ali's disciple and biographer, Badakhshi, who served as Sultan Sikandar's envoy to Timur, mentions that some theologians intended to poison his master; but he does not mention the story which is more prominent in the Kashmiri tradition, that Hamadhami had established a relationship with Lalla, the brahman Yogini and poetess of Kashmir. It is said that she had walked around stark naked, but 'when she saw 'Ali Hamadhami she realized that he was a 'man' and put on clothes'.¹¹ That means that with the insight of a true mystic she recognized

¹¹ R. C. Temple, *Lalla the Prophetess*, Cambridge 1924, p. 8. For Hamadhami's mystical theology see Fritz Meier, 'Die Welt der Urbilder bei 'Ali Hamadhami (st. 1385)', *Eranos-Jahrbuch* XVIII 1950.

him as a genuine 'man of God'. (Iqbal—of Kashmiri descent—therefore rightly placed him in the realms of Paradise in his *Jāvidnāma*). It is also told that one day when Lalla was seen by Hamadhani, she went into a baker's oven and appeared to him again in the green garments of Paradise.

‘Ali Hamadhani, the *amīr kabīr*, died in 1385 in Swat; but his followers remained active in the kingdom which was now ruled by Shihabuddin's grandson Sikandar (1389-1413), known as *butshikan* (iconoclast). Sayyid ‘Ali's son, Sayyid Muhammad, wrote a treatise about Sufism for Iskandar who, in turn, built a *khānqāh* for him. Sikandar was a true puritan who had no interest in wine or frivolities and according to Firishta, tried to convert the Brahmans, who reverted to various ruses to avoid, and survive, this conversion. In consonance with the customs in Delhi and elsewhere, Sikandar created the office of *shaikh ul-islām* and, more importantly, decided that the *shari‘a* should be valid instead of the traditional law. But, as in many other places, that may have been restricted mainly to personal status law.

Sikandar's younger son, Zainul‘abidin (1420-1470) was, like his father, pious and learned but, contrary to him, most liberal in his views. He wrote some Persian poetry under the pen-name Qutb but also read Sanskrit works. His main concern was the welfare of his subjects, and his rule of half a century can be compared, perhaps even preferred, to the almost equally long reign of Akbar the Great Moghul. Zainul‘abidin, usually called Badshah, adopted a policy of universal tolerance, and a historian writes with palpable dismay:

He conferred both glory and popularity on the laws of infidelity and error and on the customs of the idol worshippers and the ignorant. He reconstructed and rehabilitated all the temples and non-Muslim places of worship which had been destroyed or pulled down during the reign of the late Sultan Sikandar;

and Indian customs seem to have prevailed to such an extent that

even Muslim scholars, ulema, *sayyids*, and *qādis* of the country followed these customs without any hesitation.¹⁶

Zainul‘abidin abolished the *jizya* as well as the cremation tax; he also permitted *saff*. His external relations were usually geared towards economic and cultural gains, not to martial achievements. Manuscripts of rare Islamic books were requested from major Muslim rulers to be copied in Srinagar. In order to procure a living for his subjects the king sent some people to Samarqand to learn the art of papermaking and bookbinding, and he encouraged the development of numerous minor arts for which Kashmir then became famous. And in popular tradition even the pious ‘Ali Hamadhani is credited

¹⁶ *Comprehensive History of India*, V, p. 753, quote from the *Bahāristān-i Shāhi* of an unknown author.

with having introduced one of the national crafts, that of weaving fine shawls. Literary life flourished; several Sanskrit books, including the *Mahabhārata*, were translated into Persian, but the Sultan tried also to have Islamic books translated into Sanskrit. Poets, many of whom were Sufis, laid the foundations of Persian poetry in Kashmir, among them the ecstatic Sayyid Muhammad Amin Uwaisi (d. 1484). Another ecstatic, Nuruddin, who was called by some admirers a 'spiritual son of Lalla', founded a Rishi order; he lived for a long time in a cave devoting himself to hard asceticism:

...He was in isolation and solitude also constantly fasting,
Giving up meat and onions, milk and honey for many years...

His lifestyle was imitated by hundreds of hermits in the following centuries. When Nuruddin died in 1438, king Zainul'abidin attended his funeral.¹⁵

After Zainul'abidin's death the Shah-Mir dynasty lost power, although it continued in name till 1561. One reason for the growing tensions in Kashmir was the arrival of a new religious sect in the valley. The Nurbakhshiyya, founded by Shamsuddin 'Iraqi, reached Kashmir in 1484. According to Nurullah Shushtari's *Majālis al-mu'minīn*, Sayyid Nurbakhsh (1392-1464) was a second-generation disciple of Sayyid 'Ali Hamadhani, who later in life claimed to be the caliph of the Muslims and even issued coinage on this claim, for which he was imprisoned by Shahrukh. Nurbakhsh held, in good Shia fashion, that the *imām* must be a descendant of 'Ali and Fatima; but in order to rule, he had additionally to be a *walī*, 'saint', and it seems that the movement was largely Shia-Sufi. The Nurbakhshiyya acquired many followers in the clan of the Chak, and the constant struggle between the Chak-Nurbakhshiyya faction and their opponents, the Hanafī *sayyids*, resulted in ever-new kings being enthroned according to the predilections of the then-predominant faction.

The author of the *Bahāristān-i shāhī* claims that 'the inhabitants of the valley, who were swinging over from Hinduism to Islam and from Islam to Hinduism, were finally converted to true Muslims by the Nurbakhshis'.¹⁶ On the other hand the Timurid prince Mirza Haidar Dughlat, who invaded Kashmir in 1541, condemns them as arch-heretics; and their sacred book, *al-fiqh al-aḥwāṭ*, 'The most comprehensive *fiqh*'—which is apparently a Shia work—, is called by him 'a mass of infidelity and heresy'. The strictly Sunni prince continues:

¹⁵ B. M. D. Sufi, *Kashir*, Lahore 1949. Abu'l Fazl, *Ain-i Akbari*, transl. II 355, speaks of more than 1600 *rishis*.

¹⁶ *Comprehensive History of India*, p. 765.

Many of the people of Kashmir who were strongly attached to this apostasy I brought back to the true faith whether they willed or not, and many I slew. A number took refuge in Sufism but are not true Sufis.¹⁷

The Chak assumed power in 1561 but could not prevent outbreaks of Sunni-Shia fanaticism in 1568. The most attractive figure on the throne of Kashmir during this period is Yusuf Padshah (1579-1586), noted particularly for his marriage with the gifted Kashmiri poetess Habba Khatun, who took up the life of a wandering *faqir* after Akbar had imprisoned her husband, and poured out her longing in touching songs.

The opposition to Yusuf and his successor Ya'qub was led by the *sayyids*, and particularly by two intellectuals, one of whom was Baba Da'ud Khaki (d. 1586), disciple of Rishi Makhdum Hamza whose *mathnawī* *Wird al-murīdīn* is modelled, as are most spiritual *mathnawīs* in India, after Maulana Rumi's *Mathnawī*. Baba Da'ud was accompanied in his appeal to Akbar by Shaikh Ya'qub Sarfi from Srinagar, a man who not only was a traditionist trained by Ibn Hajar but also held initiations in the five major Sufi orders and was a poet of mediocre quality. Akbar finally annexed Kashmir in 1589, and the country became the favourite summer resort of the Moghuls.

Bengal

As early as in 1201-2 Muhammad Bakhtiar Khalji reached the Eastern part of the Subcontinent, *Bangāla*, and saints and warriors were soon to follow. In 1230, Iltutmish came to Lakhnauti, the northwestern part of Bengal, which remained the seat of the government for more than a century; and this city and its environment still preserve some outstanding examples of early Indo-Muslim architecture built, in an almost stoneless country, in brick masonry. For the largely Buddhist peasantry the advent of the Muslims meant liberation from brahmanical oppression (in a certain way similar to the situation in Sind in the early 8th century); therefore conversions took place on a rather large scale. In some areas, conversion to Islam was affected immediately on a virtually animistic society.¹⁸ As a logical result Islam in Bengal remained for a long time mainly connected with the lower classes and often acquired rather syncretistic facets. Here, as elsewhere, conversions were largely carried out by Sufis, among whom Jalal Tabrizi, the Suhrawardi saint (d. 1244) played a decisive role. His life even inspired a hagiographical work in Sanskrit, *Sehak*

¹⁷ Mirza Haidar Dughlat, *Tarikh-i-Rashidi, A History of the Moghuls of Central Asia*, an English version... by N. Elias, and E. Denison Ross, London 1895, repr. 1972, p. 435.

¹⁸ Thus Percival Spear in the *Oxford History of India*.

subhodaya, and the sanctuary in Sylhet, which is dedicated to him, is still an attractive place of pilgrimage.

In comparatively early times the study of *hadith* flourished in a country which, newly converted, certainly needed information about the exemplary life and actions of the Prophet. Abu Taw'ama of Sonargaon is the outstanding scholar in this field, and his fame was enhanced by his son-in-law, the great Sufi teacher of Bihar, Sharafuddin Yahya Maneri. In fact, the fates of Bihar and Bengal were closely connected, and the relations between saints and scholars in this part of the Subcontinent seem to have been quite close. Ibn Battuta, who travelled in this area in the 1340's, tells that Sultan Fakhruddin of Bengal loved foreigners, especially *faqirs* and Sufis. That was shortly before Bengal, after 150 years of 'Turkish' rule, became independent at the beginning of Feroz Shah Tughluq's reign. Its new capital was Pandua, a place which was adorned by its rulers with remarkable mosques of bold construction and decoration, so that the Adina Mosque has 'almost endless arrays of archways'. The first independent ruler, Ilyas Shah, integrated the areas of Lakhnauti, the southwestern Satgaon and the southeastern Sonargaon into one state in 1352. A strange story about him is told in the *Sirat-i ferōzshāhi*. The author claims that Haji Ilyas Sultan was afflicted with leprosy, and when Feroz Shah Tughluq ascended the throne

Ilyas marched via Benares to Bahraich under the pretence that he had to pray for his recovery at the famous tomb of Salar Mas'ud Ghazi. It was feared that, on the same pretext, he might also come to Delhi to pray at the more sacred tomb of Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya...¹⁹

This is, at least, an elegant way of hiding political aims under a religious guise, even though the truth of the story cannot be ascertained.

During the first, or 'Turki' period of Muslim Bengali history, Persian had come into prominence; but the independent rulers encouraged the native language and began even to have Sanskrit works translated into Bengali. The most influential saint during the independent period is the Chishti Nur Qutb-i 'Alam of Pandua (d. 1416), who was also a good poet in both Persian and Bengali and invented the mixed style (*rekhta*) with alternating lines of Persian and Bengali. Sultan Ghiyathuddin A'zam Shah (1398-1409) was closely connected with him, and when after the sultan's death his Hindu neighbour, Raja Ganesh, tried to extend his power over Pandua, Qutb-i 'Alam induced his confrère Ashraf Jahangir Simnani to incite Ibrahim Sharqi of Jaunpur to march against Ganesh. That is at least the official version, although otherwise Qutb-i 'Alam seems to have preferred the Chishti ideal of keeping aloof from

¹⁹ *Comprehensive History of India*, p. 583, quote from the *Sirat-i Ferōzshāhi*.

politics and government and developed in his writings 'an exquisite theology of pain'.²⁰ However, the Raja, apparently impressed by the undertaking, requested the saint to secure peace, and he agreed under the condition that Ganesh's younger son would embrace Islam. This son indeed became a Muslim and ascended the throne of Pandua as Jalaluddin in 1418. He soon shifted the capital from Pandua to Gaur. Jalaluddin assumed on some coins the title *khalīfat Allāh*, an innovation that has been ascribed to his stress on the Islamic character of his rule but also explained as an expression of his wish to unite his people against his rival, Ibrahim Sharqi, in the name of Islam.²¹ Gaur, embellished with numerous fine buildings, developed into a centre of cultural life where Muslim Bengali romances were written after the model of Muhammad Saghir's *Yūsuf Zulaikhā* (composed in the beginning of the century). One Zainuddin (d. 1480) composed his *Rasāl viyāj* about the heavenly journey of the Prophet and thus set the model for numerous other religious epics. One should also mention the activities of Pir Badr, a Suhrawardi preacher who was invited by Sharafuddin Maneri to Bihar but, finding him no longer among the living, went to Bengal and is credited with converting numerous sailors in Chittagong. He died in 1440 in Bihar.

After a short interregnum in Gaur, Sayyid 'Ala'uddin Husain rose from vizier to king in 1493. He was a great builder, and the largest mosque in Bengal, the *Sath Gunbad* in Khulna District, was constructed during his reign. He also erected a *Qadam rasāl*-mosque in the capital; the footprint of the Prophet which was preserved there, had, according to legend, been brought from Arabia by Makhdum-i Jahaniyan. (Other footprints were later shown in Dacca and Nabiganj). Under 'Ala'uddin Husain's peaceful reign with effective administration, Muslim Bengali literature continued to flourish; the typical Muslim art, calligraphy, developed in all its variants as proven by the powerful, highly decorative inscriptions of the Husain Shahi period. A fusion of Sufi and Vaishnava ideas is another prominent feature of the period, which found its expression in tender mystical folk songs. One has to remember that it was the age of the great Vaishnava saint of Bengal, Chaitanya (d. 1533). Shaikh Faizullah's syncretistic book *Satyā pīr*, 'Seven Saints' (1575) is a testimony of such leanings in a somewhat later time. As a Bengali historian says:

Islam in its simple and austere aspect does not appear to have characterized the life of the people, although literary and epigraphic sources indicate that offering prayers regularly,

²⁰ Lawrence, *Notes from a distant Flute*, p. 56.

²¹ Dr. Abdul Karim, 'Khalīfat Allāh: Title in the coins of Bengal Sultans', *J. Pak. Hist. Soc.* VIII 1, 1960.

keeping the Ramadan fast tenaciously, reading the Koran together with other religious scriptures, paying the poor rate and going on pilgrimage to Mecca, were quite common practices... but the popular Islam does not seem to have been free from accretions of an amazing nature.²²

The works of some Sufi writers such as Sayyid Sultan and Shaikh Zahid show clear influences of Yoga teachings and tantric practices among which breath control, since long practised by the Sufis, and elaborate theories about the *kundalini*, the 'serpent'-power resting at the bottom of the spinal column, were of special importance.²³ Hindu writers of that period found it deplorable that by the end of the 15th century 'the holy Brahman recites the *Mathnawī* [of Rumi] after the Muslim fashion'. In the delightful verse of the Baul, that 'order of singers', many ideas and images are found which sound almost as though they were taken from Rumi's poetry, thus the emphasis on the 'man of the heart', the supreme beloved who rests in man's heart, and on the feeling of a real love relation between the human lover and Ultimate Reality, further the idea of the body as a microcosmos, and, last but not least, the importance of the *murshid*, the spiritual guide, for man's development.

Sultan 'Ala'uddin Husain gave shelter to the last Sultan of Jaunpur and thus incurred the wrath of Sikandar Lodi, who marched against Bengal; one of 'Ala'uddin's sixteen sons, Mahmud III Ghiyathuddin, had then to fight Sher Shah, who invaded the country from his base in Bihar in 1538. From that time onward the political situation in Bengal was unsettled until it was finally incorporated by Man Singh into the Moghul Empire (1595) where it remained as *Shāba Bangāla*, and continued to produce interesting literary works in Bengali and Persian. Shia trends grew stronger during the 16th and 17th centuries, partly due to the Persian traders who settled in the ports. The Portuguese settlements in various ports also contributed to the development of Bengali culture.

The easternmost corner of the country, Assam, was reached by the first Muslims in 1203 and had occasional contacts with the Muslim world from 1257 onward. There, as in other parts of Bengal, the immigrants of Arab stock, the *sayyids*, played the most important social role. Islamization proper on a larger scale set in only in the early 17th century; it seems that in the consolidation of Assamese Islam again a Sufi, Shah Milan, known as Azan Faqir, played a decisive role.

²² Momtazur Rahman Tarafdar, *Husain Shahi Bengal*, Dacca 1965, p. 163 f. A deviant religious movement of that period was that of the Chamkattis who, in religious frenzy, used to hurt themselves with knives, see H. A. Dani, *Muslim Architecture in Bengal*, Dacca 1961, p. 104.

²³ Cf. S. Das Gupta, *Obscure Religious Cults*, 3rd ed. Calcutta 1969, Chapter VII.

The Deccan

The Bahmanid Kingdom

The main political factors at the time when Delhi was almost powerless were the states of the Deccan that had been spared the catastrophe of Timur's conquest. The first place that was compelled to pay tribute to the Delhi Sultans was Deogir, subjugated by 'Ala'uddin Khalji in 1294. Twenty-four years later it was formally annexed to Delhi. The transfer of an important segment of the intelligentsia of Delhi to Deogir—now Daulatabad—in 1327 by Muhammad ibn Tughluq laid the foundation not only for the dissemination of Islamic culture but also for the growth of new political centres in the south. Already under Muhammad Tughluq, who was occupied with Gujarat, the nobles in the Deccan revolted (1347), led by Isma'il Mukh; slightly later Hasan Gangu was proclaimed king as 'Ala'uddin Hasan Bahman Shah. It is said that in this affair he had the blessings of a saint from Peshawar, Sirajuddin Junaidi, who belonged to those who had been transplanted from Delhi. Further,

Nizamuddin Auliya had predicted Bahman Shah's good fortune. After the coronation he distributed 400 pounds of gold and 1000 pounds of silver in charity in Nizamuddin's name...²⁴

At other occasions, too, he 'loaded holy men with presents'. The historian 'Isami, who also belonged to the group of the expelled, dedicated to the Sultan his *Futūḥ as-salāṭīn*, one of the important chronicles of medieval India, and his wish for the Sultan:

I pray the Almighty, the Creator of everything, and to whom the very existence of earth and time are due,
That thy name should be known far and wide in time to come,²⁵

was apparently fulfilled.—The centre of the new kingdom, which generally remained restricted to the Deccan table lands, was Gulbarga-Ahsanabad, which was adorned in 1367 by the second king, Muhammad Shah I, with a superb mosque measuring 211 by 176 feet. Its architect came from Qazwin, and the shape of its domes clearly shows Persian provenience. Muhammad Shah continued friendly relations with his predecessor's spiritual preceptor, whose prayers he requested whenever he set out for a campaign—and there were many feuds with the adjacent provinces, especially the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar in the south. Nevertheless cultural life flourished; Arabic learning was encouraged, and Muhammad, or his successor, sent an invitation to Hafiz of Shiraz to join the court. An energetic Sufi like Zainuddin Da'ud

²⁴ H. K. Sherwani, *The Bahmanis of Deccan*, Hyderabad 1953, p. 56.

²⁵ Quoted by Sherwani, l.c. p. 67.

(1302-1369) could force Sultan Muhammad to give up drinking in public, and another Sufi, 'Ainuddin Ganj al-'ilm Bijapuri (1306-1392) came, like many scholars, from Gujarat to write in Gulbarga what is probably the first treatise in 'Hindwi' on Sufi themes. A century later, Mahmud Gawan built a mausoleum for this saint.

The most outstanding ruler of the Bahmanid dynasty was Tajuddin Feroz Shah (1397-1422), who was clever enough to send messengers to Timur to have his royal title reaffirmed by him; thus the Deccan was spared a Timurid invasion and could develop in comparable peace. Feroz Shah, one of the most learned kings of India, and conversant enough in southern idioms to talk to the ladies of his *harem* in their mother-tongues, was very fond of Arabic culture and 'used to send ships to fetch celebrated men of learning to his court'. A strong interest in Arabic is—naturally enough—characteristic of South Indian Muslim culture; after all, connections between the Arabian peninsula and the ports at the west coast of India, which were now partly incorporated in the Bahmanid kingdom, go back even to pre-Islamic times. The Delhi kingdom, on the other hand, had much more vital relations with the Persianate-Central Asian world, whence its conquerors had descended, as had most of its saints. Under Feroz Shah one of the leading Arabic writers of the age, Badruddin ad-Damamimi of Alexandria, an authority on Arabic grammar, lexicography and belles lettres reached Gulbarga from Gujarat. After a rather brief sojourn he died in 1424.

Somewhat earlier, in 1413, Muhammad Gesudaraz had settled in Gulbarga. This Chishti mystic, who had spent his childhood in Daulatabad but had then returned to Delhi to become a disciple and *khalifa* of Chiragh-i Delhi left the capital, as did many others, at the time of Timur's invasion, to wander first to Gujarat, then to the Bahmanid capital. For some reason Feroz Shah was not too happy with his presence; but his brother Ahmad secured the blessings of the aged saint who attracted numerous disciples, and founded a *madrasa* for him. Gesudaraz died shortly after Shihabuddin Ahmad had ascended the throne in 1422; the king, deeply grieved, built a beautiful mausoleum for him but soon shifted the capital to the more northern, strategically important Bidar, where he and his successors erected powerful fortifications. Ahmad himself is remembered in the Deccan as a saint, called by the Muslims Hazrat Ahmad Shah Wali, by the Hindus Alan Prabhu.

Sayyid Muhammad Gesudarāz, 'with long curls', *Bandanawāz*, 'kind to his servants' was a most prolific writer who followed largely the classical *shari'a*-bound tradition. Thus he became the foremost interpreter of Prophetic traditions, translating and commenting upon the *Mashāriq al-anwār* and even on the *Fiqh al-akbar*. Of course he explained also most of the traditional Sufi

texts used in the Chishti tradition and turned to Ibn 'Arabi's writings, which increasingly influenced Indian Sufism, particularly the Chishtiyya. Gesudaraz, however, remained critical of his doctrines; his correspondence with his Chishti confrères Mas'ud Bakk in Delhi, the ardent defender of *waḥdat al-wujūd*, and Ashraf Jahangir of Kichhauchha, deals with problems of existential unity and shows his reservations. His lawbound attitude is clearly stated in a remark about the relations between *ḥaqīqat*, Divine Truth, and *sharī'at*, which is all the more important as it touches one of the burning issues of Indian Islam, i.e., how to react to the austerities and 'miracles' of the Yogis.

People keep on saying that *ḥaqīqat* is the divine secret, but I, Muhammad Husaini, say that *sharī'at* is the divine secret, because I have also heard talk of *ḥaqīqat* from the mouths of *muwallihs*, Haidaris, Qalandars, *mulhids* and *zindīqs* (heretics of sorts); nay, I have even heard it from the mouths of Yogis, of Brahmans and of Gurus. But talk of the *sharī'at* I have not heard from the mouth of anyone other than the people of true faith and belief, i.e. Sunni Muslims. Thus it is evident that the *sharī'at* is the divine secret.¹⁶

And yet, the mystic who drew such sharp lines between strict Sunni Islam and every other form of religion was a poet who poured out his mystical love in beautiful Persian verse. Although his *malfūzāt*, *Jawāmi' al-kalim*, contain a praise of Hindi as a language of poetry 'that moves and induces man to submissiveness and humility',¹⁷ he chose Persian for his songs in which, following a famous line from Sana'i's *Ḥadīqat al-ḥaqīqa*, he claims:

Love is not in the *ijtihād* of Abu Hanifa Nu'man;
Shafī'i has no information about it.

Love is the central theme of his poetry:

What shall I call him who denies love?
He is a cow, a jackass and a hard stone.¹⁸

In the tradition of Ahmad Ghazzali and 'Iraqi he feels that human beauty leads to divine love:

Well, you look at the beautiful one and see figure and stature;
I do not see anything in between but the beauty and art of the creator,¹⁹

for:

Those who have quaffed the goblet of love at the pre-eternal covenant...
Have washed from the slate of being everything except the picture of the beloved.²⁰

¹⁶ Digby, *Encounter with Jogis in Indian Sufi Hagiography*, SOAS London, mimeographed Jan. 1970.

¹⁷ See S. A. A. Rizvi, *Muslim Revivalist Movements*, Agra 1965, p. 56, note 1.

¹⁸ Gesudaraz, *Anīs ul-'ushshāq*, s.d., s.1, p. 128.

¹⁹ Id. p. 67.

²⁰ Ikram, *Armaghān-i Pāk*, p. 151 f. This poem is inscribed in the dome of his mausoleum.

These examples show that one should beware of deducing systematic theological statements from mystical poetry, which follows certain inherited patterns, so that even the most law-bound poet would sing of wine and beauty in his verse. Whatever Gesudaraz' true opinion was, his powerful personality so deeply impressed people in the Deccan that they claimed a visit to Gulbarga would yield the same spiritual benefit as a pilgrimage to Mecca.

Yet, Gesudaraz was not the only major saint that settled in the Bahmanid kingdom. Shortly after his death another religious leader reached Bidar: Mir Nurullah, the grandson of the Persian saint Shah Ni'matullah Kirmani whose order remained centered in India till after 1800, and only then built up a new tradition in the founder's homeland.³¹ Ahmad Shah had invited the master himself to join the court, but he sent instead the twelve-pointed green *taj*, the sign of Shia dervishes, and after his death his son, Shah Khalilullah (d. 1460) responded to Ahmad's Shah's invitation. The ruler showed extreme affection to the saint's descendants; he not only built a mosque for Mir Nurullah but also gave him his daughter in marriage and accorded him the highest rank in the official *darbār*. A trend toward the Shia began to spread in the kingdom.

This Shia trend, however, was to become fatal for the Bahmanids, for the army and the nobility now consisted of two factions, the South Indian Sunnis, strengthened by Abyssinian mercenaries, and the 'foreigners' (*āfāqī*), Persians, Turks, and Central Asians, who were to a large extent Shia. The tension that was thus built up in Bidar was to continue also in the successor states. Already in 1450 the exaggerated veneration of the 'foreign' *sayyids* by the ruler 'Ala'uddin Ahmad II (to whom Islamic art owes the fine Chand Minar in Daulatabad) resulted in a terrible massacre of *sayyids* at the hands of the indigenous nobles, which, in turn, led to their fall. More than a century later Bada'uni still speaks of 'the unruly Deccanis, following their detestable habit of murdering foreigners'.³²

It was a foreigner, however, to whom the Bahmanids owed the greatest glory of their kingdom. 'Imaduddin Mahmud Gawan from Rasht had been a disciple of Shah Ni'matullah's grandson and reached the Deccan in 1453, soon after the massacre of the *sayyids* and the ensuing revenge. After a short time he became minister, bearing the title *Malik at-tujjār*, and was the de facto ruler for the next 28 years, as Muhammad Shah III had ascended the throne in 1463 as a mere child. Mahmud Gawan attracted many scholars to Bidar, where he had a four-*īwān* *madrasa* constructed by Persian architects and craftsmen. It had a large courtyard, and its forefront was covered with blue

³¹ R. Gramlich, *Die schiitischen Derwischorden, Teil I*, p. 27 ff., Nasrollah Pourjavady and Peter L. Wilson, 'The Descendants of Shah Ni'matullah Wali', *JC* XLVIII, 1974.

³² Bada'uni, *Muntakhab*, III, transl. 373, text 270.

tiles. Mahmud Gawan endowed the *madrasa*, which was completed in 1472, with thousands of books; he himself also composed a useful Arabic book on epistolography, *Riyāḍ al-inshā*.³³ The successful minister was treacherously murdered in 1481; the historians disagree as to whether he was a Sunni or rather a Shi'ite who skillfully practised *taqiya*.

Mahmud Gawan adopted a young slave named Yusuf who—or rather whose biographers—claimed that he was a son of the Ottoman Sultan Murad II (d. 1451) who had been smuggled out to Iran when his brother was about to ascend the throne, and who had been educated by a Persian. The truth of this story cannot be ascertained; however, the gifted young man was to become a successful ruler in the Deccan: after his master's death he founded the Adilshahi dynasty of Bijapur. After the loss of Mahmud Gawan the young Bahmani Sultan could no longer protect, let alone expand the borders of his kingdom, and soon both Yusuf 'Adilshah and 'Imadulmulk, the founder of the 'Imadshahi dynasty of Berar, became independent. Shortly after 1500, then, the Deccan was divided into five principalities, of which that of the 'Imadshahis as well as that of the Baridshahis of Bidar were absorbed after some time by the Nizamshahis of Ahmadnagar.

The founder of the last-mentioned kingdom had been another favourite of Mahmud Gawan. Malik Hasan Bahri was the son of a Brahman from Vijayanagar, who embraced Islam and later became independent as Ahmad Nizamshah in 1490 in Ahmadnagar.³⁴ The second ruler of the dynasty, Burhanuddin (1509-1553) was converted by a Shia from Iran, a country with whose ruler Shah Tahmasp he maintained friendly relations. Bada'uni cannot help ascribing the miraculous cure of the ailing Nizamshah by a Shia emissary to *istidrāj*, the kind of miracles infidels work.³⁵ Burhanuddin's strong Shia leanings are visible, for instance, in the dedication of the large public kitchen, *langar-i duwāzdah imām*, to the twelve *imāms*. But again, this Shia trend led to a tension between the Sunni, and partly even Mahdawi, Deccanis and the Shia 'foreigners', that reached its peak in 1589 when many Shias left the country. During the next two years, the throne was occupied by a follower of the Mahdi of Jaunpur; after his fall Shia rites were restored. The end of Ahmadnagar as an independent state is connected with the name of the noble, heroic queen Chand Bibi, who had been married to 'Ali 'Adilshah of Bijapur and

³³ Dar, M. J., '*Riyāḍ al-inshā*, its literary and historical value', *JC* XXIV 1940. E. Merklinger, 'The *madrasa* of Mahmūd Gāwān in Bidar', *Kunst des Orients* XI, 1-2, 1977, convincingly defends his Sunni attitude.

³⁴ One has to remember that in 1443/3, Deva Raya of Vijayanagar enlisted Muslims in his army and built a mosque.

³⁵ Bada'uni, *Muntakhab* I, transl. 625, text 483.

then returned in the war of succession to her former home to defend its citadel heroically against Akbar's troops; but the queen, one of the most impressive figures in Indo-Muslim history, was ruthlessly murdered by one faction of her own people.¹⁶ Ahmadnagar fell in the same year, 1600, and was completely incorporated into the Moghul Empire in 1626.

Bijapur

Yusuf 'Adilshah declared his independence in 1489, and under him and his successors Bijapur became one of the most brilliant cities in India. Yusuf was most probably brought up as a Shia, but he openly confessed the Twelver faith only in 1502. However, he was wise enough not to introduce the formula of abuse against the first three caliphs. His son Isma'il, who succeeded him in 1510, was a Sunni, and so was Ibrahim I (1535-1557) of whose Hanafi persuasion the *Fatāwā-i ibrahīmshāhiyya*, the collection of *fatwās* from his time, bears witness. 'Ali I (1557-1579) again reverted to the Shia faith, very much to the dismay of his Sunni subjects. But:

He invited many learned men and valiant officers of Persia, Turkistan and Rum, also several artists, who lived happy under the shade of his bounty.

Thus says Firishta, who settled in Bijapur after 1589. During 'Ali Shah's long reign the four kings of the Deccan, usually entangled in warfare against each other, once combined their forces to defeat the Hindu empire of Vijayanagar, their common enemy, and succeeded in the battle of Talikota in 1565. At that time Akbar had begun to build up and extend Moghul supremacy in the northern part of India; but the two major southern kingdoms, Bijapur and Golkonda, were able to resist Moghul pressure for another century. However, feuds among the Deccanis continued, and here religious considerations often seem to have been unimportant:

Strange combinations occurred in the wars of this period: Shiite against Shiite kingdom, Muslim and Hindu against Muslims—all of which showed that with these rulers the defense or spread of religion was incidental.¹⁷

Bijapur reached the zenith of its power and splendour during the long reign of Ali's nephew Ibrahim II who was crowned in 1580 at the age of nine; his aunt Chand Bibi was the queen-regent for the first years. Ibrahim II had almost half a century at his disposal to decorate the capital with beautiful buildings so that visitors claim that Bijapur in the early 17th century had near-

¹⁶ For Chand Bibi see H. S. Elliot, *History of India* II, 229-301, H. K. Sherwani, *Muhammad-Quli Qutbshah*, Hyderabad 1967, p. 82 ff. Several Urdu novels and dramas deal with this unusual princess.

¹⁷ John N. Hollister, *The Shia of India*, London 1953, p. 116.

ly a million inhabitants and 1600 mosques. Exaggerated as that may be, it is evident that the Sultan did everything to encourage cultural life. Italian, or more probably Portuguese, painters decorated his palaces, for the Portuguese had become an important constituent of Southern Indian politics and culture (They had set up the first printing press in India in 1556 in Goa, and soon turned out books in Konkani and Tamil). Christian priests preached freely in the capital. Miniature painting reached perfection, blending the radiant Deccani colour scheme with Persian elegance. Ibrahim himself was a great lover of poetry and music who wrote Dakhni verses remarkable for their blending of a vocabulary from South Indian languages, Arabic and Persian. Inspired by Indian literary and musical traditions, he composed the poetical work *Nauras*, 'Nine sentiments as expressed in music through various modes', a book that shows his great and quite un-Islamic devotion to Saraswati, the goddess of learning. The Persian poet Muhammad Zuhuri (d. 1615), whose charming *Sa-qīnāma* (dedicated to Burhan II Nizamshah) reflects the splendour of Deccani culture, wrote an introduction to the *Nauras*, which abounds in complicated imagery and allusions to music; he closes his introduction with a *mathnawī* in which he sings of the greatness of Ibrahim II:

The Deccan is the home of mirth and happiness; the lip is thrown into a foreign land by the talk of one's native country. Is it not strange that the morn of the day of joyous meetings of happy lovers with their beloved may feel ashamed before the evening of a homeless traveller (entering the king's city)? Exquisite tunes are poured forth from his musical instrument; ay, the king is the comforter of the stranger.

...The story is ended; may the garden of his face be an object of envy for the rose-garden of Abraham!¹⁴

Besides other literary works, a special study on Indian music was composed for Ibrahim II by one Shaikh 'Abdulkarim, which is decorated with a good number of miniatures.¹⁵

Ibrahim's reign was a time of extraordinary cultural syncretism, even more so than the reign of his contemporary Akbar; and it is therefore not astonishing that some of the pious Sufis of Bijapur tried to bring him back into the fold of orthodox Islam.

Much of our information concerning Bijapur is derived from the chronicle of Muhammad Qasim ibn Hindushah known as Firishta (d. 1623), who reached the Deccan coming from Astarabad. During the outbreak of fanaticism against foreigners in Ahmadnagar in 1589 he left the place to settle in Bijapur.

¹⁴ A. Ghani, *Persian Language and Literature at the Mughal Court*, Allahabad 1929, Part III Appendix: The *sih nathr-i Zuhūrī* p. 388 (from the second introduction, *Gulzar-i Ibrāhīm*).

¹⁵ British Museum 'Or. 12857, *Jawāhir-i mīstiqāt-i Muḥammadi* with 48 miniatures; s.a. Douglas Barrett, 'Painting in Bijapur' in R. Pinder-Wilson (ed.), *Paintings from Islamic Lands*, London 1969.

He served Ibrahim II faithfully and also acted as an envoy to the Moghul court in 1604 when Ibrahim's daughter was to be married to Prince Salim's (later Jahangir's) son Daniyal; the groom, unfortunately, died of delirium tremens shortly after his fiancée arrived. Firishta's historical work points by its very title, *Gulshan-i ibrahīmī*, to the person of his admired king; for earlier periods it is not as reliable as was formerly thought when it was one of the few sources of Indian history available in an English translation.—A contemporary of Firishta was 'Abdulqadir Muhiyuddin ibn 'Aidarus, whose father had migrated to Gujarat from his native Hadramaut; he is the author of an important Arabic biographical work on contemporary literary figures, called *An-nūr as-sāfir*; other members of the 'Aidarus family in Bijapur served also as translators of Indo-Persian works, particularly on Sufism, into Arabic.

Ibrahim II had been married to Muhammad-Quli Qutb Shah's daughter, and his younger son, Muhammad, had to face during the thirty years of his reign the growing pressure of the Marathas under Shivaji in the south and of the Moghuls in the north, whose tributary he became. Finally, under the young sultan Sīkandar, Bijapur surrendered to Aurangzeb's troops (1686).

The rulers of Bijapur were not only great admirers of literature and music but also, perhaps even more, great builders. The most impressive congregational mosque with its gorgeous *mihrāb*, which is superbly gilded and painted, is decorated with numerous inscriptions, mainly *ḥadīth*. *Madrasas* were founded and into them were incorporated the books that reached Bijapur after the fall of Bidar. Numerous mausoleums of kings and saints are examples of the 'most satisfactory of all the Deccan styles'⁴⁰; typical are the bulbous domes which seem to grow out of enormous petals. As Ibrahim's love of art was unique among the kings of his time, the Ibrahim Rauza (finished 1626), where he and his family rest, has been called by H. Cousens a counterpart to the Taj Mahal. Contrary to this most elegant building the tomb of Muhammad 'Adilshah (1646), called Gol Gunbad, has one of the largest domes in the world—its spherical dome has an external diameter of 43.9 m and the floor area beneath it 'is the largest in the world covered by a single dome'. The vault where the king rests is filled with sacred earth from Kerbela.—An important relic was brought to Bijapur during Ibrahim II's rule, a hair of the Prophet, which is preserved in the Athar Mahal (built 1591) with its fine painted wood decoration:

So sacred is it...that no woman can cross the threshold of the building; no armed man can enter, no music is permitted, and the use of flambeaux within the limits of the enclosure is interdicted."

⁴⁰ *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 2nd ed. I 1203.

⁴¹ H. Cousens, *Bijapur*, Bombay 1916, p. 90, quoting Capt. Sykes. In October 1979, the guardian told me to stay outside because "not even Indira Gandhi was allowed to enter."

Besides the Shia component of Bijapuri culture, which becomes evident from some of the inscriptions, particularly on the citadel, where 'Ali is invoked,⁴² we find in Bijapur as in other centres of Indian Islam a strong influence of the Sufis. Early warrior Sufis tried to work there, as elsewhere, for the expansion of Islam in earlier centuries, and these are venerated as martyrs; even before the consolidation of the kingdom a steady influx of Qadiri, Shattari, and Chishti mystics is recorded. The Qadiris came directly from the Arab countries. First traces are found in 1422; that means that they settled in Bijapur earlier than in Uch where the order formed an influential centre in the late 15th century. But the Qadiris seem to have often led a solitary life, while the Chishtis formed a close group in and around Shahpur Hillock, a place close to which the leading masters of the order and foremost poets are buried. As in Moghul India the Naqshbandi order counteracted Akbar's syncretistic approach, in Bijapur too some Qadiri and Shattari preachers disapproved of Ibrahim II's process of Indianization, and tried to bring him back to more orthodox tenets. Richard M. Eaton has lucidly described the various aspects of Bijapuri Sufism in a recent book,⁴³ and much of what he has stated about the consolidation of the Sufis and their different roles in the Muslim community—from the latitudinarian attitude of the Chishtis to the reforming sermons of other mystics—is valid also for other places in Muslim India.

In Bijapur, the comparatively early development of mystical poetry in Dakhni Urdu is important. Prose, which was often replete with technical terminology of a high order, was more often than not written in Persian, since it was directed predominantly to the educated classes, while mystical poetry appealed to a much wider public. The first noted writer in this line is Shams-ul-'ushshaq Miranji (d. 1499), a Chishti, who reached India from Mecca. In his small *mathnawī Shahādat al-haqīqa* he still apologizes for his use of the local language, but holds that one should not look at the outward form of this lowly idiom but rather at the inner meaning. His *Khushnāma*, 'Book of Contentment' and the short *Khushnaghz*, 'Lovely Contentment' have as their heroine a pious girl who renounces the world. Here, the author takes up the Indian tendency to symbolize the soul under the image of a woman—a trend common to almost all mystical poets in the vernaculars. Miranji's son, Burhanuddin Janam (d. after 1597) continued the Dakhni tradition with his *Kalimat al-haqq* and other impressive poems; his successor Mahmud Khushdahan (d. 1617) is particularly important for his attempt to explain the

⁴² Cousens, l.c. p. 27: "Invoke Ali the displayer of miracles, thou wilt find him a help in trouble; every care and every grief will be removed by the aid, o Ali, o Ali, o Ali." Most Shia inscriptions and wall paintings were destroyed under Aurangzeb.

⁴³ Richard M. Eaton, *Sufis of Bijapur*, Princeton 1977.

mystical path with the various stages of *dhikr* in his *Maʿrifat as-sulūk*. Burhanuddin's son Aminuddin Aʿla (d. 1675), who is buried in a delightful mausoleum, is well known for his *Maḥabbatnama*, a Dakhni *qaṣīda* in simple rhyme form.⁴⁴ But besides the higher mystical literature represented by these masters, more popular forms developed, which took their symbolism from daily life and appealed to the illiterate and women (see p. 140). Besides, a more profane romantic literature in Dakhni grew in Bijapur.

Golkonda

The history of the other major South Indian kingdom that emerged from the ruins of the Bahmanid state, that of Golkonda, resembles in many respects that of the neighbouring Bijapur. One Sultan-Quli from Hamadan, of the Turcoman tribe of the Qaraqoyunlu, who had come to Bidar in the time of Muhammad Shah III, was able to save his king in one of the internal struggles between the Deccanis and the foreigners (1485); ten years later he was accorded the title *Malik quṭb al-mulk* and posted to Telingana. There, he declared his independence in 1512 and immediately introduced the Shia faith in his area, reciting the *khutba* in the name of the twelve Imams. Sultan-Quli was assassinated in 1543, aged more than 90, and under his successors the country played a great, often decisive role in South Indian wars and feuds.

The city of Golkonda was famous as the centre of Indian diamond trade and therefore attracted many visitors and merchants. Towards the end of the Qutbshahi dynasty a diamond merchant from Ardistan, Mir Jumla, rose to the highest political power. Good connections with the three major ports, Goa, Masulipatam, and Surat (called 'the door to Mecca') made the province comparatively accessible. The period of Golkonda's greatest glory coincides approximately with that of Bijapur's greatness. Sultan Ibrahim (1550-1580) was the first to use the royal title for himself and in spite of numerous wars was able to create an interesting cultural life, blending Muslim and Hindu traditions and strengthening the position of Telugu besides Arabic and Persian. The first Dakhni verses were composed during his early days. He was succeeded in 1580, the same year that Ibrahim ʿAdilshah II began his reign in Bijapur, by Muhammad-Quli Qutbshah, whose reign of thirty years is remembered as the high time of Golkonda culture. The ruler shifted the capital to a newly built city, Hyderabad, which he had named after the caliph ʿAli Haidar, and decorated the place with magnificent buildings. The choice

⁴⁴ R. M. Eaton, l.c. p. 136 note 4, comments on the longevity of this family. I still have my doubts that in three consecutive generations a son should have been born when the father was about 100 years old.

of the place was in part due to economic and political reasons, but also to the fact that a well-known saint, Shah Chiragh, had lived in the area and was buried there. Around his tomb Mir Mu'min, the many-sided prime minister, courtier, and literateur, laid out the new cemetery which was called after him, and had it sanctified by some earth brought from Kerbela. Mir Mu'min was also largely responsible for the layout of Hyderabad, for he dreamt of making the capital a second Isfahan, vying in splendour with the Persian capital. The most famous building, which was conceived as the centre of the new city, is the huge Charminar; the western section of its roof is occupied by a mosque, and it is said that its five double arches are meant to represent the *panjtan* (Muhammad and his closest family). Muhammad-Qulī also erected a large *‘āshūrahāna* in the city to be used during the Muharram festivities. These were celebrated with great pomp and must have been extremely colourful, with religious leaders, mendicants and tame animals participating in them, and spears and coloured standards being carried around. Among the relics of which the city could boast was a horseshoe of ‘Alī, which came from Bijapur. His Shia persuasion led Muhammad-Qulī, like his predecessors, to maintain friendly relations with Iran; Shah ‘Abbas sent embassies to Golkonda and promised the Qutbshahis protection against the increasing Moghul pressure—an act that certainly contributed to the aversion of the Sunni Delhi nobility to the ‘heretic’ Deccanis.

Muhammad-Qulī himself, a great *maecenas* of literature, was one of the most successful poets in Dakhni Urdu, and wrote under the penname of Ma‘ani. His poetry describes with unusual freshness the scenes of daily life, and the festivities such as *shab-i barāt*, which was celebrated with fireworks and illuminations, and of *naurāz*; it speaks of the fruits and animals of the land, as it sings of the king's love affairs. But even his love and wine poetry often ends with an appeal to the Prophet or to ‘Alī. Out of his firm Shia faith Muhammad-Qulī began to compose *marthiyas* in honour of the martyrs of Kerbela, and during the following decades the Dakhni *marthiya* developed highly before it was transplanted to the north in the early 18th century, when the poets of Delhi turned to Urdu for literary purposes. A particularly tender poem of this kind, composed by one Hashim Shah in South India, is devoted to the infant that was slain in Kerbela and translates the grief of the bereaved mother:

Woe, your blood-stained shroud, Asghar!
 Woe, your thirst-parched mouth, Asghar!
 Red is your body, Asghar—
 Woe for your childhood, Asghar!...

Whose cradle shall I now rock?

To whom shall I sing lullabies?
And whom shall I press to my breast—oh!
Woe for your childhood, Asghar!¹¹

But as devout a Shia as Muhammad-Quli Qutbshah was, his policy has been called 'a conscious fusion of Hindu and Muslim cultures not only at the court but also among the aristocracy and the common people'.¹² Although he mastered Telugu, his and his successors' interest in Arabic literature attracted many scholars and poets to South India, some of whom had been disciples of the great teachers of *ḥadīth* and Shafii *fiqh* in Mecca and Medina, for contrary to the 'Turkish' north, where the Hanafi *madhhab* prevailed, the South Indian Sunnites were generally Shafiites. A philosopher like Nizamuddin Gilani (d. 1649), a disciple of Mir Damad, came to Golkonda, and Arabic belles-lettres and poetry were flourishing in the Qutbshahi area. Among the Arabic writers Amir Sayyid Ahmad ibn Ma'ṣum and his son Sadruddin Sayyid 'Ali Khan are best known—the father, a poet, had been invited to Golkonda and called his son there in 1655; the young man described his journey from Mecca to Golkonda in his ornate prose work *Salwat al-gharib wa uswat al-arīb*; another important biographical work of his is the *Sulāfat al-ʿaṣr* which deals with his contemporaries, literati and scholars of the tenth and eleventh centuries of the hegira, similarly to his elder contemporary 'Abdulqadir al-ʿAidarus' collection of biographies. Entangled in home politics towards the end of the Qutbshahi reign Sayyid 'Ali left Golkonda and was kindly received by Aurangzeb, who posted him in Burhanpur until he left for Shiraz (d. 1705). The art of calligraphy reached a superb standard in the 17th century, whether one thinks of the refined epigraphy in *nastaʿliq* or of complicated *tughra*-shapes made of pious ejaculations. Miniature painting, too, developed a typical style with lavish use of gold.

During those years, after Muhammad-Quli's death in 1611, the pressure of the Moghul armies increased; later the Moghuls extracted heavy tributes from the state; but Golkonda resisted them even one year longer than Bijapur. In 1687 the last king, Abu'l-Hasan Tana Shah, a dervish-like man who had lived as a recluse before being called to the throne, smilingly handed over the kingdom to Aurangzeb's officers.

The Carnatic

The Arabic-Islamic component in the southernmost part of India is reflected in the tale of King Shakarwati, which was committed to paper in

¹¹ Text in M. Sadiq, *History of Urdu Literature*, Oxford 1964, p. 146 f.

¹² Sherwani, *Muhammad-Quli Qutbshah*, p. 9.

Arabic some time in the late Middle Ages. King Shakarwati of Cranganore witnessed the miracle of the Splitting of the Moon (Sura 54.1) and thus was converted to Islam... Thus, the Muslims in the South who form a remarkably strong group trace back their presence to the time of the Prophet. Muslim merchants settled in the coastal areas and maintained their specific traditions; settlers at the Konkan coast are reported to have come during the days of Hajjaj, and historical evidence for Muslim presence in Tamilnad is available for the late 9th century. They had only a few connections with the powers in the North. Amir Khusrau writes of 'Ala'uddin Khalji's attempt to reach Malabar:

There remained Ma'bar, which is so far away that from the city of Delhi, that with all the speed possible one has to travel for a full twelve months to be able to reach there...⁴⁷

Yet, in Muhammad ibn Tughluq's time the Sharif Jalaluddin Ahsan was sent southward and declared himself after a short while Sultan of Madura. Then he was assassinated (1339) and succeeded by 'Ala'uddin Shah, who in turn was followed by Ghiyathuddin. Ibn Battuta, who was married to Jalaluddin's daughter, left a vivid description of Muslim culture in Southern India; he tells that he found in the city of Hanawar 23 schools for boys and 13 schools for girls!⁴⁸ The independent Muslim rule of Madura, however, did not last long; Sikandar Shah was killed in 1378 by the forces of Vijayanagar and has therefore been venerated as a martyr by the Muslims of Malabar. Saints' tombs are found in South India; thus Trichinopoly boasts of the tomb of Sayyid Nathar Shah who came as a pioneer of Islam; he may have been a Suhrawardi Sufi.

In the area of Manjarur (Mangalore) Ibn Battuta found a Shafiite *qāḍī* and a group of a few hundred thousand Muslims, the Labbai, who come from mixed Arabic-native parentage (*nawāit*) and continue to play a role in the Nagore area. Their favourite saint is Qadirwali Sahib in Tanjore; Muslims and Hindus equally trust in the power of this saint to whom strange miracles are ascribed. Among the Labbai, the study of Arabic was common throughout the centuries, and at present they use a translation of the Koran in Tamil; they adjusted Arabic script also to that language to create a rich Islamic literature of mainly religious content.

Another, larger group of Muslims of mixed ancestry are the Mapillah (Moplah) who are said to number more than a million. They, too, generally follow the Shafiite rite, but their language is Malayalam. The religious leaders among the Mapilla are called *tangal*; they claim descent from the Prophet's

⁴⁷ Amir Khusrau, *Khazā'in al-futūḥ*, transl. p. 62.

⁴⁸ Ibn Battuta gives a lively account of South India, see Mahdi Husain, *The Rehla...: India, the Maldives, and Ceylon*.

family; and since the Mapilla preserve maternal lineage in some clans the *tangals* use both their Arabic, *sayyid*, name and the naming system required by the matrilineal customs so that they reach a long sequence of names, usually seven.⁴⁹ A 19th century reformer, a member of the Qadiriyya which is very influential in the Carnatic, ‘Abdulqadir Takya Sakal Kayalpatuam (d. 1855-6) criticized the people of Malabar ‘for their submission to the clean-shaven Christian overlords’ and ‘condemned them for following the Marumakat-tayam law of inheritance, giving every right of succession to their sister’s son than to their own sons and daughters as enjoined upon by the Islamic law’ and he asked: ‘Who are these *mappilays*, ‘bridegrooms’?’⁵⁰

The Mapilla, generally very poor, have always during history been accused of ‘outbreaks of sudden fanaticism’. Formerly their wrath once turned against the Jews, then against the Christians, and more recently found a most dangerous outlet in their rebellion during the *khilāfat*-movement in 1921. Their centre is Ponani, praised for its learning already by Ibn Battuta.

A remarkable Muslim community lived in Kalikut, which in the 15th century had a congregational mosque and a *qāḍī*. When the Portuguese under Vasco da Gama reached Kalikut in 1498 the Arab merchant community felt the danger and, with the Portuguese presence in the Arabian Sea growing, asked the Hindu Raja, the Zamorin (called *as-Sāmīrī* by Ibn Battuta) for help. An Arabic poem in simple verse in a not too classical language sings of this event:

Fa’inna ḥadhī qisṣatun ‘ajība fī sharḥi ḥarbin shānuhā gharība...

This is a wonderful story, giving account of a strange war occurring in the land of Malabar—and the like of it never took place in that country—between the lover of the Muslims, the Zamorin, and his enemy, the infidel Firangis... I have versified some part of it, by God, so that all kings may hear the story so that they may, when they hear it, ponder over the war or may take a lesson, so that the story may go forth in all directions, especially to Syria and Mesopotamia, so that they may know the courage of the King Zamorin who is well known in all places, the ruler of the celebrated Kalikut—may it ever remain prosperous by the grace of God!

This *urjūza* of some 500 verses by Muhammad al-Kalikuti is complemented by the historically much more important account of his brother Zainuddin al-Ma‘bari’s *Tuḥfat al-mujāhidīn*, in which the author describes the appearance of and struggle against the Portuguese.⁵¹ He dedicated this work to ‘Ali

⁴⁹ Victor S. D’Souza, ‘Kinship Organization and Marriage Customs among the Moplahs on the South West Coast of India’, in Imtiaz Ahmad, (ed.), *Family, Kinship and Marriage among Indian Muslims*, Delhi 1976, Chapter VI.

⁵⁰ M. Y. Kokan, *Arabic and Persian in Carnatic*, p. 463, S.a. H. Bjerrum, ‘The Tamil Moslems of South India’, *MW* X, 1920.

⁵¹ *Tuḥfat al-mujāhidīn*, ed. Hakim Sayyid Shamsullah Qadri, Hist. Text Series, Hist. Soc. of Hyderabad, Nr. 3, s.d., (1931); it was translated into English by Lt. Rowlandson in 1833, into Portuguese by D. Lopes 1898.

‘Adilshah of Bijapur, in whose country he had settled. The Carnatic, however, continued to be a fertile soil for Islamic literature in both Arabic and Tamil, and maintained its indigenous Arabo-Indian culture for the centuries to come.

Gujarat

I am slain by the cruel Gujaratis,
Destroyed by the charm of the beauties of Ahmadabad...¹¹

Thus sings Akbar's court poet Faizi in one of his ghazals, discarding the conventional 'idols of Kashmir' who formerly used to inspire Persian love poets. At his time, Gujarat had recently been annexed to the Moghul Empire (1575, then 1584) by Khankhanan ‘Abdurrahim.

The country had long-standing relations with the Islamic world; in its peninsular part, Kathiawar, Mahmud of Ghazna destroyed the famous Temple of Somnath in 1026, carrying with him about 2 million dinars worth of booty...The indigenous population consisted at that time of Hindus and a great number of Jains; after 700, in consequence of the Arab conquest of Iran, groups of Zoroastrians began to migrate from Iran to that part of India; they were to constitute in later times an important trading community in Bombay and Karachi. Some Arab families settled close to the Gujarati and Konkan ports, which offered the best connections between the central Muslim world and India: we know that the mystic Hallaj sailed from Basra to Gujarat in 905 when he started out for his missionary work in Sind and Kashmir. The Arab geographers were of course well informed about the area; Istakhri mentions in 951 several Muslim settlements south of Cambay.

After northwestern India had been brought under Muslim supremacy the Ghoris tried to conquer Gujarat too; Qutbuddin Aibek made the first successful attack in 1197, but mainland Gujarat was annexed to Delhi only in 1298. Before that, the existence of an independent Muslim community is proved by several mosques which were built in the Kathiawar area: thus, an Arab shipmaster erected a mosque in Junagarh. Even more importantly, the mosque in Somnath, dated 1264, contains an inscription in Arabic and Sanskrit which deals, inter alia, with donations for the *shah-i barāt* (15. Sha‘ban) and gives orders to send the surplus of incoming money to the holy cities. It can be assumed that the builders of these mosques belonged, as well as the Arabs settling along the Westcoast, to the Shafiite *madhhab*.

One of the most important ports in Gujarat was Cambay by whose name

¹¹ Ikram, *Armughān-i Pak*, p. 177.

the whole country is often called in Arabic and Western sources; Ibn Battuta admired it highly during his visit. Later, the kingdom of Gujarat extended its borders south to Surat and Bombay, as its rulers also tended to encroach into Rajasthan.

Political unrest in Gujarat was the reason for Muhammad Tughluq's last campaign; persecuting the fugitive Gujarati rebel he died in the banks of the Indus, not far from Thatta. Relations between Sind and Gujarat were always close; the British administered the province of Sind from Bombay for almost 90 years. The area of Cutch was the cultural and linguistic transition zone.

The Tughluqid rule over Gujarat weakened during the 14th century; finally the successful governor Muzaffar Khan, who had been given charge of the province in 1391, declared his independence (1407). In Shawwal 813/February 1411, he received a deed of investiture from the Abbasid caliph in Egypt.¹¹ The relations with Egypt, then the foremost Arabic power, remained friendly for the next century. Both Sultan Muzaffar and his grandson Ahmad ibn Tatar (d. 1442) spent much of their time in warfare with the adjacent states, particularly Malwa and Khandesh; in the latter state, Raja Nasir Faruqi of Asir had founded a new city at the instance of the Chishti master Zainuddin Da'ud (who was also active at the Bahmanid court besides being the spiritual guide of the first Faruqi rulers); he called it Burhanpūr after Burhanuddin Gharib Chishti. Ahmad Shah of Gujarat is known as a pious ruler who strictly observed his religious duties; logically, he imposed the *jizya* on the non-Muslims and demolished also some temples in his country. He was a disciple of Burhanuddin Qutb-i 'Alam, the grandson of Makhdum-i jahaniyan of Ucch, who had migrated in 1400 to Gujarat at the advice of his great-uncle, Raju Qattal, a strictly *shari'a*-bound Suhrawardi leader. Burhanuddin in turn had also received a *khirqah* from Ahmad Khattu (d. 1445), who is credited with great miracles; the decisive one (which is not fully in accordance with historical truth) is told by Bada'uni (transl. I, 357) as follows:

Ahmad Khattu had an interview with the great Timur, and made apparent to him his condition as a dervish and his surpassing knowledge; moreover he argued with and confuted over and over again the learned doctors who were with the Transoxanian force and begged for the prisoners' lives. The great Timur conceived such a strong liking for him that he acceded to his request and liberated all the prisoners.

After this event, Ahmad Khattu lived for another 46 years and is buried in Sakhey in Gujarat.

Sultan Ahmad, faithful follower of Qutb-i 'Alam, built his new residence,

¹¹ See Otto Spies, 'Ein Investiturschreiben des abbasidischen Kalifen in Kairo an einen indischen König', in *Muhammad Shafi Presentation Vol.*, ed. Dr. S. M. Abdullah, Lahore 1935 (after Qalqashandi, *Subh al-a'sha* X [29-134]).

Ahmadabad, in 1411 at the place where his patron saint had settled. The city was soon renowned for its beauty; traditional Jain architecture was blended with Muslim styles, and among the numerous mosques, *madrāsas* and *khān-qāhs* the congregational Mosque is regarded as an outstanding example of the 'Indian' interpretation of sacred space.

Literary life flourished in the new capital. Ahmad Shah himself wrote some Persian poetry, of which a *qasīda* in praise of Burhanuddin Qutb-i 'Alam is quite interesting with its pun on the saint's name and title:

Burhān, the proof, our Polar Star (*qutb*),
Our pattern and our guide,
The proof, in whose convincing truth
We, and all men, abide...⁵⁴

The Egyptian scholar Badruddin ad-Damamimi (d. 1424), who spent some years in Gujarat before proceeding to the Bahmanīd kingdom, praised Sultan Ahmad, to whom he dedicated most of his scholarly work, as 'the learned of the sultans and the sultan of the learned'. Mystics, poets and scholars came to Gujarat where, in spite of constant warfare at the borders, life was safer and more comfortable than in Delhi. 'Ala'uddin Maha'imi (d. 1431), a *nawā'it*, is worthy of mention as the first commentator of the Koran in India in whose work, *Tabṣīr ar-raḥmān*, his interest in Ibn 'Arabī and his firm adherence to the theories of *waḥdat al-wujūd* is evident. Musa Suhagi, who dressed like a woman, was only one of the numerous saints around Ahmadabad, and his idea that he, in this garb, represents the bridal soul that yearns for her husband and Lord, is echoed in literature in Shah 'Alī Muhammad Jiv Jan's (d. 1515) mystical works in the vernacular. Popular devotional poetry, called *jikrī* (from *dhikr*) was quite common among the Gujarati Muslims of this time. Qutb-i 'Alam's son, Shah 'Alam, is remembered by a tree in Ahmadabad whose fruits were supposed to cure barren women,⁵⁵ but his real role was highly political. Faithful to the tradition of his father, Ahmad Shah's spiritual adviser, Shah 'Alam took a clear stance in the internecine feuds that broke out after the Sultan's death in 1442; in 1458 his protégé, the 13-year old Fath Khan (the son of Muhammad II) was enthroned as Mahmud Shah to become the greatest ruler of Gujarat. His mother was a daughter of the ruler of Sind; thus he was closely related to Jam Nizamuddin of Thatta (d. 1509),⁵⁶ the last

⁵⁴ *Comprehensive History of India*, V, p. 861.

⁵⁵ Jafar Sharif/Herclois, *Islam in India*, p. 18.

⁵⁶ Jam Nizamuddin, tenderly called Jam Nanda, invited Jalaluddin Dawwani, the author of the *Akhlaq-i jalālī*, to his court in Thatta, "but alas! before the arrival of the travel money and the messengers, Maulana had exchanged the journey to Thatta with the journey to the Otherworld..." Abdulbaqi Nihawandi, *Ma'āthir-i Rahīmī* I, p. 274.

and most important ruler of the Samma dynasty in the lower Indus valley, under whose long and peaceful reign Sind had its Golden Age, and whose mausoleum on Makli Hill near the old residence, Thatta, is an exquisite example of syncretistic Indo-Muslim architecture.

Sultan Mahmud is known as *begrā*—a word which may or may not be derived from *bē garh* 'two fortresses', i.e. Girnar and Champaner, which he conquered in 1470 and 1482 respectively. He firmly annexed Junagarh which he called Mustafabad; its ruler embraced Islam. The king settled some *sayyid* families in the area, and the Islamization was so effective that the inhabitants opted—though in vain—for Pakistan in November 1947.

Mahmud built a new residence near Ahmadabad, called Mahmudabad. During the last years of his reign he had to fight the Portuguese, whose activities in the Arabian Sea increased from year to year; he therefore formed an alliance with the last Mamluk ruler of Egypt, Qansauh al-Ghuri, and defeated the Portuguese in January 1508 with the cooperation of the Egyptians. However, Albuquerque was able to capture Goa, the port of the 'Adilshahis of Bijapur, in 1510. Mahmud Begra died one year later after 52 years of successful reign. It is said that he was so extremely active that his nobles once thought of deposing him, since 'they were fed up with his uninterrupted activities'.

Everything about the 'Prince of Cambay' was apparently extreme—European travellers tell strange stories about his enormous appetite and claim that he immuned himself to poison by daily increasing small rations of poison. Such externals lead the student to forget that Mahmud was a highly cultured person who ordered Persian translations of Arabic classics, such as Ibn Khallikan's *Wafayāt al-a'yān*. More importantly, he was genuinely interested in religious affairs and had a liberal, almost Sufi approach to religion. A Brahman served as his chief minister, and he tended towards mystics and the Ismaili pirs who began to enter the kingdom; and when the jurists of Ahmadabad issued a *fatwā* to have the Mahdi of Jaunpur executed, Mahmud Begra did not carry it out, rather, he showed some inclination towards this pious preacher.

Under him as under Ahmad Shah, some Rajput families intermarried with leading Muslim families and thus lost caste; the mixed group of new Muslims that emerged from these marriages continued to maintain some Hindu customs. Since Gujarat is the only Indian province where sociological research has been carried out on a large scale among the Muslim 'castes', numerous details of the degree of Islamization in this area have been publicized—and many of the findings are certainly also valid for other parts of the Subcontinent. During the last 150 years it has always been a major aim of the refor-

mists to fully islamize those groups who clung too intensely to their traditional Hindu customs and laws; be it a class-structure that was comparable, to a certain extent, to a 'caste', or the refusal of the remarriage of widows, etc. As late as in 1911 Iqbal complained that the Muslims had 'out-hindooed the Hindus'. It goes without saying that in Gujarat, as elsewhere, the *sayyids* enjoy a special position; among them, the Bukharis are most important thanks to their relations to the country's patron saint, Qutb-i 'Alam Bukhari.

Notwithstanding his sympathies with Sufi and Isma'ili preachers as well as the Mahdawis, Mahmud Begra retained the Sunni form of Islam, and his son Muzaffar (1511-1526), the last foreign ruler to ask the Abbasid caliph in Cairo for a deed of investiture,³⁷ continued this policy, although he received an embassy from Safawi Iran, which, however, returned without success. Muzaffar was called *ḥalīm*, 'the Clement', because 'he would not extend the hand of punishment from the sleeve of patience'³⁸ and even Babur praises him in his memoirs as 'extremely knowledgeable in the *sharī'a*' and mentions that he constantly copied the Koran. He was indeed a good calligrapher, as he was a *ḥāfiẓ-i qur'ān*, and enthusiastically celebrated the Prophet's birthday. One of his most praiseworthy actions was to supply free transport for those who wanted to perform the pilgrimage to Mecca; with the boats he also sent funds for the poor in the holy cities. The only 'negative' aspect of this ruler was, at least from the viewpoint of the theologians, his excessive love for and indulgence in music...! The theologians however had more reason to blame his successor Mahmud II, about whom it is said with a standard formula that 'all his days were like the days of the *Id*, and all his nights like the *shab-i barāt*'.

Politically, the situation deteriorated in a country that was famous for its industry, particularly textiles such as brocades and velvets, and thus attracted the envy of other rulers. The Portuguese treacherously murdered Muzaffar's son in 1537 when seizing the strategically important port of Diu. Somewhat later the fugitive Moghul ruler Humayun stayed for some time in Gujarat; and the Mahdawis, though defeated by Muzaffar's troops in 1524, continued to cause trouble during the next decades. Nevertheless, Gujarat was still able to attract some important scholars even in a time of political instability. The famous traditionist 'Alī al-Muttaqī from Burhanpur served for some time as *qāḍī* in Ahmadabad before he left for Mecca, and his disciple, Muhammad ibn Tahir Patani, a former Sunni Bohora, was assassinated by the Mahdawis in 1578. Born in Patan in 1508, Muhammad ibn Tahir was one of the best

³⁷ Ibn Iyas, *Bada'ī' az-zuhār fī waqā'ī' ad-duḥūr*, ed. P. Kahle and M. Mostafa, Istanbul 1931, Vol. IV p. 287.

³⁸ Thus the *Mir'āt-i Sikandari*, ed. S. C. Misra and M. L. Rahman, Baroda 1961, quot. in *Comprehensive History of India*, V, p. 886.

known traditionists of India; he composed several useful auxiliary works to facilitate the understanding of Prophetic traditions, such as about the correct pronunciation of names of transmitters of *ḥadīth*.—For some time, the great Shattari mystic Muhammad Ghauth Gwaliori (d. 1562) came to Ahmadabad and was defended in his claims by Wajihuddin Gujarati (d. 1589) who was, according to Badaʿuni, a veritable embodiment of scholarly and human virtues possessing not only knowledge in all branches of scholarship but also healing powers, and being as simple as he was charitable. Wajihuddin was a prolific writer and, despite his scholarly achievements, a Sufi-minded man;¹⁹ his *khalifa*, Muhammad ibn Fazlullah Burhanpuri, wrote *Al-tuḥfa al-mursala ilāʾn-nabī* (1620), a work that was to become instrumental in the spread of mystical Islam in Indonesia. The mystical tradition was also continued in the regional idiom when Khub Muhammad Chishti (d. 1614) composed his *Khūb tarang* in a mixture of Gujarati and Urdu. On the other hand, Gujarat maintained its traditional relations with Arabia even after the Moghul annexation. Some members of the ʿAidarus family of Hadramaut settled there to teach tradition and Ghazzali's *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm ad-dīn* in Ahmadabad; from there they proceeded to Bijapur. A spiritual descendant of Muhammad Ghauth Gwaliori, Muhammad Ghauthi, once more condensed the 'saintly' history of Gujarat in his *Gulzār-i abrār*, out of whose 575 saints the majority belongs to his native land. 'Profane' chronicles were not lacking either; here Ulughkhani's (d. 1611) *Zafar al-wāliḥ bi-Muẓaffar wa āliḥ* is the most outstanding work, written shortly after the Moghul occupation.

Ismaʿili Communities

During his long reign Mahmud Begra annexed the province of Cutch where some tribes 'claimed to be Muslims but were absolutely unaware of the *sharīʿa*'. The sources call these tribes *ibāḥatiyya*, the old term by which the Carmatians had been called, and the new subjects of the king of Gujarat may well have been Ismaʿilis, for Cutch is still one of their centres.

Gujarat had come in touch with Ismaʿili missionaries very early. It even seems that the first conversions to Islam in Cambay and environs were administered by missionaries, *dāʿīs*, sent from the Fatimid court in Egypt to India. As is known, the loyalties of the followers of the Fatimid *daʿwā* split after the Caliph Mustansir's death in 1094. One faction accepted the younger son, Mustaʿli, the other one the elder, Nizar, as the true *imām*. The Mustaʿlians believed that Mustaʿli's grandson Abuʿl-Qasim Tayyib went into concealment

¹⁹ See Badaʿuni, *Muntakhab* III, transl. 70 f., text 43 f.

in 1142, similar to the 12th *imām* of the Twelver Shia. His representative was first Queen Hurra in Yemen, and from that time onward the Musta'lians, known in India by the general name of Bohoras, accepted the presence of the *dā'ī muṣṭaq* in Yemen; they performed the pilgrimage thither as they sent the revenues to him. The central concept of the Bohoras is their firm faith in the *dā'ī*, who is called *Mulla jī Ṣaḥīb* or *Sayyidnā* and has the title His Holiness. He is regarded as the representative of God on earth and as such is infallible and immaculate, *ma'ṣūm*. The Bohora of age has to take the covenant oath at the hands of the *dā'ī* or his local representative, an act which is repeated annually on the 18th of Dhu'l-hijja, the feast of Ghadir Khumm in commemoration of the Prophet's investing 'Alī as his successor. The religion of the Bohoras largely follows Fatimid tenets, and likewise their law is based on Qaḍi Nu'mān's code *Da'ā'im al-Islām*. Local functionaries are appointed by Sayyidnā, and have to perform marriages, funerals, and functions similar to the Sunnite *qāḍī*; they wield however more power over their followers than the *qāḍī*.

The tomb of the first Bohora *dā'ī* to India is venerated as that of *Pir-i rawān* in Cambay, and there must have been a steady influx of missionaries, which resulted in a rather large-scale conversion to the Bohora faith. A first schism occurred in the mid-15th century, when Da'ūd was the Indian representative in Ahmadabad; one of his followers, Ja'far Patani, due to internal tensions with the master, reverted to the Sunni faith so that an independent community of Sunni Bohoras came into existence, whose centre is Patan and who extend south to the Konkan coast. In the course of time, these Sunni Bohora have developed generally into an agricultural community while the original group, as the name expresses (*bohora*, from Gujarati *vohra*, 'trader'), constitutes predominantly a prosperous community of merchants and traders.

Another major schism occurred when the *dā'ī* Sayyidnā Yusuf ibn Sulaiman (d. 1567) moved from Yemen, which had just been conquered by the Sunni Ottoman Turks, to India to settle in Sidhpur; the majority of the Bohoras accepted him and formed the Da'udi faction while a very small but influential minority continued to pay allegiance to the *dā'ī* in Yemen. These are the Sulaimani Bohoras. Further splits followed: in 1765 one Hibatullah claimed to be superior to Sayyidnā, and in 1897 a fragmentary group split off in Nagpur, whose founder claimed direct contact with the *imām*; these Mahdibaghwalā Bohoras were, in the beginning of our century, a flourishing, though isolated community.

Sometimes in their later history the Bohoras, though rather close to the main body of Shiites, were persecuted, for instance during Aurangzeb's

governorship in Gujarat; they therefore reverted to *taqiya*. Their religious books are kept secret, and the enormous amount of literature in this field is only slowly coming to light thanks to the work of modern Bohora scholars. In their general attitude toward religion they closely resemble the main body of Indian Muslims, and like them, the Bohoras too know the veneration of tombs. The graves of many *da'is* are located in India—Ahmadabad can boast of eight; Surat, now the headquarters of the Da'udis, of seven. They are visited as are the tombs of some saints who will intercede for their followers with the *imām*. One of the most frequently visited tombs is that of Chandabhai in the Fort area of Bombay.

The seat of the *da'wat* of the Sulaimanis is Baroda; they use Urdu in their literature—which is regarded in Gujarat always as a sign of Muslim upper classes; the Da'udis however use Gujarati in their writings. Some theological schools in the centres as well as in Hyderabad and Bombay teach *haqā'iq* (Bohora theology) to a handful of students.

A completely different development took place in the Nizari branch of the Isma'ilis. Hasan-i Sabbah, who gave shelter to Prince Nizar in his mountain fortress of Alamut, died in 1124; forty years later, Hasan 'ala dhikrihi's-salam announced the *qiyāmat*, which means a spiritualization of the *shari'a*, an abolishment of its prohibitions, or, in short, the introduction of a new era. The *imām* was regarded as perfect embodiment of God:

Knowledge of God is the knowledge of the *imām* of the time. ...His word is the word of God.

Next to him is the *hujjat* who, in philosophical terms, corresponds to the First Intellect. The *imām* is, in this system, much superior to the prophets. Religious law is interpreted by *ta'wil*, esoteric exegesis, leading the faithful slowly into the deeper layers of meaning. Likewise, the Five Pillars of Islam are interpreted in a spiritualized way.

It seems that the first Nizari missionary reached India soon after the *qiyāmat*, although exact dates cannot be verified. His name is given as Pir Nur Satguru, and he supposedly landed in Patan to convert the Hindu rulers of Gujarat, Raja Siddhaya Jayasingh, by means of wonderful miracles.

More historical material, though still shrouded in legends, is available about Pir Shams—the twentieth in the list of *hujjats*—, who seems to have been in India in the mid-14th century. He came from Badakhshan (where Nasir-i Khusrau is buried) via Baltistan to Kashmir, then to Multan and Uchh. The Isma'ilis in the remote Hunza valley may belong to those whom he converted. His tomb, under the name of Shams-i Tabrizi, is located in Multan, and many legends have grown around this Shams who is, blended with Maulana Rumi's mystical beloved, mentioned in Sindhi and Siraiki folk songs

as one of the 'martyrs of love'. Followers of Shams are still found in the area from Multan to Dera Ghazi Khan in the West, Bahawalpur in the south east, and although the Shamsi, like many Isma'ili factions, have maintained a number of Hindu customs, they belong to the fold of the Agha Khan. It has been suggested that the *rawāfiṣ*, about whom Feroz Shah complained in the late 14th century and whom he mercilessly persecuted, may have been followers of Pir Shams; that is possible since the Twelver Shia at that moment did not yet play a major political role, while the various Isma'ili groups always attracted the hatred of the Sunni community.

The most outstanding *dā'ī* was Pir Sadraddin, who is buried near Uch and belongs to the first decades of the 15th century. It is he who is credited with the conversion of the Sindhi Lohanas to Islam, and the new converts received the title of *khwāja*, hence the soubriquet of the sect, *khōja*. Pir Sadr also institutionalized the tithe of the *imām*, which is collected by the *mukhl*, a highly trusted person; and more importantly, he is regarded as the first author of the genre of literary works known as *Das avatār*, in which a most amazing blending of Islamic and Hindu ideas is found—the author explains to his Hindu audience that the long awaited tenth *avatār* of Vishnu has appeared in the West and is nobody but 'Ali. The Prophet Muhammad, then, is equated with Brahma.

Pir Sadr also founded the first *jamā'atkhāna*, an institution that is central for the worship and community life of the Khojas; its name is reminiscent of the early community centres of the Chishti Sufis. Indeed, the relations between the Sufis of Sind and Gujarat and the Isma'ilis were probably much closer than could be established until now. The *ginans*, the religious literature of the Isma'ilis, whose earliest specimens may go back to Pir Sadr's time, are very close in tenor to Sindhi and Gujarati mystical folk songs; the imagery is similar (the woman-soul, bridal symbolism, etc.), and the first devotional *ginans* may form a bridge between Muslim mystical poetry in the regional languages and Hindu *bhajans*.

Pir Sadraddin was succeeded by his son Hasan Kabiruddin who also died in Uch. Among his 18 sons the youngest one, Imam Shah, settled in Gujarat where he was favourably received as a pious Sufi by Mahmud Begra, who gave him one of his daughters in marriage. Imam Shah died in Pirana in 1512, and at his death a major schism occurred. One of his sons from a Rajput wife settled in Burhanpur, which became an important centre of the new Imam-shahi group who called themselves *Satpanthis*, 'those who follow the true path'. The tithe was no longer paid to the main *dā'ī* but to the descendants of Imam Shah. In this branch the Hinduization went so far as the regard Imam Shah as an incarnation of Indra, while his son, Nur Muhammad Shah, was

taken for Vishnu's incarnation. Their literature, too, is a most unusual symbiosis of Hinduism and Islam so that in some works Bibi Fatima, the Prophet's daughter, is equated with Lakshmi, Bibi Asa (Muhammad's youngest wife, 'A'isha, otherwise loathed by the Shiites) corresponds to Savitri, while Adam is Mahadeo or Ishvara. In the major Satpanthi *Das avatār* work Pir Shams is shown as assuming the form of a parrot (the typical bird of wisdom in Indian tradition) who converts the consort of a demon to the true *satpanth*, and fantastic tales are spun around the figures of the Indian *dā's*. The *Satpanthī mōmins*, as they are also called, have quite a few special customs at marriage and other festivities, but some branches have lately become more 'Islamicized'.

Another branch of the Khojas was that of Pir Masha'ikh in the second half of the 17th century, who has also a Sunni *silsila* going back to Mu'innuddin Chishti, while most of his followers are Shiites. Smaller groups in various shades of religious synthesis are found in the Sind, Gujarat and Cutch areas from where many families migrated lately to East and South Africa. It is worth mentioning that the Nizari Khojas do not follow the Fatimid code of law as do the Bohoras, but rather have a customary law that incorporates many Hindu elements.

A new chapter in the history of the Khoja community begins with the advent of the Agha Khan from Iran in Sind in 1840 (see p. 171, 214).

CHAPTER THREE

THE AGE OF THE GREAT MOGHULS

To Agra and Lahore of Great Moghul—

extends Adam's vision according to Milton's *Paradise Lost*, and this verse shows how deeply Moghul rule engraved itself in the minds of European scholars and poets as the most glorious period of Indian Islam, nay, as the quintessence of Islamic glory, comparable, perhaps, to the fairy tales of the *Arabian Nights*. That Delhi is not mentioned in Milton's verse can be understood from the historical situation—the city had been sacked by Timur and was not fully rebuilt until later Moghul times, although Sher Shah Suri erected some important buildings in the area known as Purana Qila.

The situation in northern India was comparatively stable during the last years of the Lodi reign, but after a number of inroads into the Subcontinent Babur gained a decisive victory over the Lodis in the battle of Panipat (1526) and became the ruler of the northwestern part of Hindustan. Babur, a descendant of Timur, had begun his career as warrior and politician as a mere boy by fighting against his relatives in Afghanistan and the Farghana. But he was more than a warrior king: his autobiography, written in his native Chagatay Turkish, is one of the most attractive and instructive books ever written by a ruler, and his interest in Islamic mysticism led him to translate a treatise by the leading Naqshbandi saint of Central Asia, 'Ubaidullah Ahrar, into Turkish verse (*Risala-yi walidiyya*). Literary talent as well as an outspoken interest in religious problems remained a continuing feature in the 'house of Timur', as the Moghuls called themselves.

When Babur died in 1530 at the age of 46, he left his kingdom to his son Humayun, of whom he was very fond; one knows that he performed a religious rite to save his son's life, by substituting his own for him. Humayun had to fight not only his brothers (among whom Kamran Mirza was a fine poet in Turki) but more importantly the Pathan leader Sher Khan Suri, who had fled from Babur to the eastern provinces, studied in Jaunpur and then gained a victory over the Sultan of Bengal. Thus, Humayun's first ten years as a ruler were overshadowed by constant wars with this highly intelligent, just and considerate Muslim leader who defeated his army in 1539 and then declared himself king in Bengal, assuming the title of Sher Shah. One year later he defeated Humayun once more near Qannauj and built up his power,

extending it to the northern Punjab where he erected, close to the Jhelum, the powerful fort of Rohtas, named after his basis in Bihar.

Sher Shah was one of the greatest rulers of Muslim India, but his achievements are more often than not overlooked so that he figures merely as 'an enemy of the Moghuls' in general Western histories. His justice and his talent for organisation were unique, as was his administrative skill. During his comparatively short reign not less than 1800 caravansarais with mosques and a great number of deep step-wells were built between Sonargaon and the Indus. The sultan died in a gunpowder explosion in 1545; his tomb in Sasaram, in an artificial lake, is a most impressive specimen of the type of 'domed mausoleums'.

Sher Shah was succeeded by his son Islam Shah, in whose time the Mahdawis once more rose to prominence. A *khalifa* of Salim Chishti, Mian 'Abdullah Niyazi of Bayana, became a Mahdawi; and a leading theologian, Shaikh 'Ala'i, was so impressed by his piety that, as Bada'uni tells with apparent sympathy,

abandoning the customs of his forefathers, and giving up his claims as a shaikh and a leader of religion, trampling under foot his self-esteem and conceit, he devoted himself to the care of the poor of his own neighbourhood and, with the utmost self-mortification and humility, gave himself up to the service of those whom he had formerly vexed.¹

After learning the *dhikr* from Shaikh Niyazi, he set up a community of 300 households in which religious communism was practised; and due to political considerations his master sent him to Gujarat. But since, in good Mahdawi fashion, he prohibited music and mystical dance, which was quite common in Gujarat, he returned to Bayana, and then,

Mulla 'Abdullah of Sultanpur, who was known as *makhdum ul-mulk* girded his loins to strenuous efforts to uproot the men of God.

Makhdum ul-mulk, a leading orthodox theologian who had been accorded this high-sounding title by Humayun but nevertheless faithfully served the Suris and then again cooperated with the Moghuls, was for decades the little loved chief of the ulema in India. He persuaded Islam Shah that Shaikh 'Ala'i was a revolutionary who claimed to be the *mahdi*. In consequence, Islam Shah banished Shaikh 'Ala'i to the Deccan, but there the soldiers soon sided with him. In 1548-49 the ruler turned to Bayana with its strong Afghan population and cruelly punished Mian 'Abdullah Niyazi, who did not cease reciting the words from Sura 3/141: "Lord forgive us our sins..." With all their severe beating Islam Shah's soldiers did not succeed in killing him; he finally travelled to the Punjab and, giving up his Mahdawi inclinations, died at Sirhind at

¹ Bada'uni, *Muntakhab* I, transl. 507, text 394.

the age of 90 in 1591. His disciple Shaikh 'Ala²i, however, was summoned from the Deccan and flogged to death (1550),

and they say that in the course of the night such a wealth of flowers was scattered over the body of the shaikh that he was completely hidden beneath them and was, so to speak, entombed in flowers.¹

His execution has often been compared to that of Sidi Muwallih at the hand of Ghiyathuddin Tughluq—in both cases, innocent pious men were killed for merely political reasons. The Suri family soon lost power, weakened by numerous factional struggles, so that Humayun's return to India was facilitated.

Humayun had been forced to leave Hindustan after his second defeat; he first sought shelter in Sind, where the Turkish dynasty of the Arghuns had replaced the indigenous Samma in 1520. His father's faithful friend Bairam Khan, a Baharlu Turcoman, joined him there, and his son Akbar was born in Umarkot (Sind) in 1542. Then the fugitive ruler, related through his Persian mother to Iran, reverted to the court of the Safawid Shah Tahmasp, whose father, Shah Isma'il I, had introduced the Shia form of Islam as state religion in 1501. It is said that Tahmasp placed the *tāj*, the badge of Shiites, on Humayun's head. The prince's visit to the sacred shrine in Ardabil seems to indicate that he had seriously taken to Shia Islam. But whatever the extent of his Shia inclinations was, his stay in Iran resulted in a major influx of Persian poets and artists to India after he had returned there. Painters like Mir Sayyid 'Ali, 'the second Mani, each page of whose painting is a masterpiece',² Dost Muhammad and 'Abdussamad gave Indian fine arts a new impetus and created, in co-operation with native artists, the unsurpassable style of Moghul miniature painting.

Bairam Khan slowly but successfully prepared for his master's return to India, and:

the second conquest of Hindustan and the building up of the empire were due to his strenuous effort, his valour, and his wise policy.³

In spite of being a Shia, he attended Friday services in the mosque of a noted Sufi whose influences 'were seen in the increased tenderness of his heart'; he was also responsible for Shah Gada²i, the son of Sikandar Lodi's court poet Jamali Kanboh, becoming *ṣadr as-ṣudūr* in the empire after Humayun had returned to Delhi in 1555.⁴ The ruler died after six months (1556) at the age of

¹ Id. transl. 524, text 409.

² Id. III, transl. 292, text 211, s.v. *Judāʿī*.

³ Id. III, transl. 266, text 190.

⁴ Gada²i has often been taken for a Shia; S. A. A. Rizvi, *Muslims in Akbar's Time*, refutes this view with good reasons. Like his father, Gada²i, too, wrote and composed religious songs in Hindi.

51 in a fall from the roof of his library. He was succeeded by his minor son Akbar, who soon emerged as an excellent leader, gaining the decisive victory over the Suris in the same battlefield where his grandfather had defeated the Lodis, i.e., at Panipat. There, the Suri general, the Hindu Hemu, had to surrender. We are well informed about the events in the Timurid family since Humayun's sister, Princess Gulbadan (1523-1603), the daughter of a lady from the family of the Persian saint Ahmad-i Jam, has described the life of her father, brother and family members in her delightful memoirs. She is only the first of the numerous accomplished ladies of the royal house who took to writing in Persian and to calligraphy.

Humayun had a special inclination towards two saints of the Shattari order, Shaikh Buhlul—also known as Shaikh Phul—and his younger brother Muhammad Ghauth Gwaliori, 'so much so that there were very few ranked with them in his estimation'.⁵ Claiming descent from the Persian mystical poet Fariduddin 'Attar, all the nine sons of this family showed mystical propensities. Among them, Shaikh Buhlul excelled in incantation and exorcism: his influence on Humayun was regarded as so dangerous that the fugitive king's brother, Hindal, who hoped for the crown, had him executed in 1538. His younger brother, Muhammad Ghauth, underwent twelve years of retirement in the Chunar Hills indulging in fearful austerities; then he proceeded to Gwalior. In 1558 the mystic 'arrived with state and pomp' in the capital, Agra; then returned 'much chagrined' to Gwalior,

where he spent his time in perfecting his disciples and having built an hospice, occupied himself with the ecstatic dances of dervishes, chanting, and giving way to transport of religious ecstasy.⁶

He died in 1562, and a superb mausoleum of greyish marble was erected for him,⁷ for

so celebrated had he become for the fulfilment of his blessings, that even powerful and absolute monarchs used to bow the head of sincerity and courtesy in his honour.⁸

Muhammad Ghauth's fame rests primarily upon the *Jawahir-i khamasa*, a book that is extant in Persian and Arabic, and deals with astrological problems in connection with the Divine Names—like his elder brother, he was well known for his power of 'calling the names', of spiritual practices and exorcism. This, along with some ecstatic utterances in his *Mi'rāj-nāma*, made

⁵ Bada'uni, *Muntakhab*, III, transl. 8, text 4.

⁷ Id.

⁸ The mausoleum is usually regarded as Akbar's work, but R. Nath, 'The tomb of Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth at Gwalior', *Studies in Islam*, XI 1, 1978, claims that it was donated by the wealthy musician Tansen, a disciple of the saint.

⁹ Bada'uni, *Muntakhab*, II, transl. 28.

him suspicious in the eyes of the orthodox; but an orthodox Hanafi scholar like Wajihuddin Gujarati defended him and continued his teaching. A thorough study of the *Jawāhir* would shed light upon the extent of relations between Hindu practices and theories and Muhammad Ghauth's own teaching, but it requires full knowledge of the esoteric traditions in both religions. It is typical of his attitude that the famous Hāṭhayoga treatise *Amṛtakunḍa* was translated into Persian by him or one of his disciples.¹⁹ Muhammad Ghauth's work of combining the two traditions of India on a high spiritual level is complemented, in a certain sense, by the man whose modest tomb lies besides his grand mausoleum, i.e., his devotee Tansen, the greatest musician of Akbar's court and one of the leading masters of Indian music in general. Not in vain did the theologians of the 'sober' orders fight against the practice of music, for in this art an almost perfect blending of Indian and Islamic traditions has been achieved.

Akbar, who began to rule at the age of fourteen, has been called 'a mystic who created an empire'; the attitude of both classical and modern historians ranges from boundless admiration for the greatest, most tolerant ruler of India to the verdict that due to his reconciliatory politics Islam lost its strength in India.

There is no doubt that Akbar had excellent leaders of his army as well as intellectual friends. Bairam Khan, his faithful generalissimo, supported him during the first years of his reign until the young ruler, under different influences, parted with his friend, who was then assassinated on his way to Mecca (1562). Akbar married his widow, his own cousin Salima Begum. Later, Bairam Khan's son 'Abdurrahim (1556-1625), the Khankhanan, proved a special asset to Akbar; he became the tutor of his son Salim (later Jahangir) and married into the royal family. 'Abdurrahim was a splendid military leader, an excellent connoisseur of poetry and fine arts, a good poet in Persian and Hindi, and competed with the emperor as Maecenas of artists and scholars. He conquered Gujarat in 1576 and regained it in 1584; in 1591 he annexed Sind to the Moghul Empire and later parts of the Deccan, where he was stationed for many years as governor of Burhanpur. A scholar from Sind, Mir Ma'sum Nami, who had settled in Gujarat, had joined the court somewhat earlier; he decorated Fatehpur Sikiri with superb calligraphy, served as Akbar's envoy to Iran, and composed poetry as well as a reliable chronicle of his native Sind.

Though illiterate, Akbar was deeply interested in religious problems and like his grandfather Babur, who wrote the Persian quatrain:

¹⁹ S. A. A. Rizvi, *Muslims in Akbar's Time*, p. 37; the first translation was made by a Bengali Yogi, s.a. Yusuf Husain Khan, 'An Arabic version of the Amṛtakunḍa', JA CCXIII, 1928.

Even though I do not belong to the dervishes,
 Yet, I believe with heart and soul in the dervishes.
 Say not that the rank of king is far from that of dervish—
 I am a king, but I am the slave of the dervishes!'¹¹

Akbar too believed deeply in the dervishes, the representatives of mystical Islam. In 1564 he performed the first pilgrimage on foot to Mu'inuddin Chishti's mausoleum in Ajmer ('which in grandeur may vie with Constantinople itself!') and repeated this act frequently, thus in 1569 to offer thanks for the conquest of Chitor, the Rajput stronghold. It is said that even in this conquest he was supported by a Suhrawardi saint, Miran Muhammad Shah (d. 1604 in Lahore). The conquest was celebrated by Bada'uni with the verse:

...And a happy day was it for the vultures and crows—
 Glory to Him who multiplieth food for his creatures!¹²

Till 1579 the emperor visited the shrine in Ajmer almost every year,

and daily according to his custom held in that sacred shrine by night intercourse with holy, learned, and sincere men, and seances for dancing and Sufism took place, and the musicians and singers, each one of whom was a paragon without rival, striking their nails into the veins of the heart used to rend the soul with their mournful cries, and dirhams and dinars were showered down like raindrops.¹³

Akbar's first surviving son Salim was born from a Rajput princess on 31 August 1569, as a result of the prayers and blessings of Salim Chishti (d. 1571),¹⁴ one of Farid Ganj-i Shakar's descendants, the chronogram of whose death is *shaikh-i hukamā* 'shaikh of sages' or *shaikh-i hukkām* 'shaikh of rulers'. Out of gratitude, Akbar erected a sanctuary for the saint, around which the city of Fatehpur Sikri was built, a city of red sandstone which seems to reflect the high-soaring mystical feelings of the emperor. The enormous gateway is visible for miles and leads the visitor to Salim Chishti's delicate white marble tomb and finally to the *ʿIbadatkāna*, the 'house of worship', where the emperor held his meetings with the representatives of different religions—Muslims, Hindus, Christians, and Zoroastrians. Strange people, too, came to Agra and Fatehpur Sikri in those years; the influx of Shia poets and preachers from Iran and the Iraq continued and even increased. Among them was Mulla Muhammad of Yazd who 'got the name of Yazidi and tried hard to make the emperor a Shia.'¹⁵ And Bada'uni cannot help poking fun at the Hindu raja who

¹¹ See A. Schimmel, 'Babur Padishan the Poet, with an account of the poetical talent in his family', *JC* XXXIV, 1960.

¹² Bada'uni, *Muntakhab* II, transl. 107, text 104.

¹³ *Id.* II transl. 188, text 185.

¹⁴ According to Bada'uni, *Muntakhab* III, transl. 18, note 1, Jahangir was never called *Salim* by his father, but only 'Shaikhū Baba'.

¹⁵ Bada'uni, *id.* II, transl. 214, text 212.

once set the whole court in laughter by saying that Allah after all had great respect for cows, else the cow would not have been mentioned in the first chapter of the Koran...¹⁶

Akbar's religious interests broadened considerably during those years. A seeker of truth, he saw with displeasure that even among the highest religious offices corruption was not rare; in the office of the *ṣadr as-ṣudūr*, who was in charge of the grants for the maintenance of sanctuaries and pensions of scholars and ulema, bribery and similar abuses were detected.—The then *ṣadr as-ṣudūr*, 'Abdunnabi, a grandson of the famous Sufi 'Abdulquddūs, had abandoned the mystic tradition of his family and 'never was there in the reign of any monarch a *ṣadr as-ṣudūr* so powerful as shaikh 'Abdunnabi'.¹⁷ The narrowmindedness of some of the ulema likewise disgusted the emperor, and Bada'uni, usually branded as the arch orthodox among Akbar's courtiers, fully agreed with him as is understood from his report about a meeting in the *Ibādatkhāna*:

All at once one night the vein of the neck of the ulema of the age swelled up, and a horrid noise and confusion ensued. His Majesty got very angry at their rude behaviour, and said to me: "In future, report any of the ulema who talk nonsense and cannot behave themselves, and I shall make him leave the hall." I said gently to Asaf Khan: "If I carried out this order, most of the ulema would have to leave", when His Majesty suddenly asked what I had said. On hearing my answer he was highly pleased, and mentioned my remark to those sitting near him.¹⁸

Intellectually, the influence of Faizi and Abu'l-Fazl 'Allami ('the man that set the world aflame') waxed stronger. These two scholar-poets were the sons of Shaikh Mubarak Nagori who had been in close touch with the Mahdist movement and is praised by Bada'uni for his initial piety and great learning, but also blamed for his increasing worldliness.¹⁹ Faizi (b. 1547) had been introduced at the court in 1566; his younger brother Abu'l-Fazl was presented to the emperor only in 1574.

It seems natural that towards the close of the first millennium of Islamic history chiliastic ideas were in the air, and such ideas, together with certain Sufi teachings, as well as Faizi's 'intellectual scepticism', were instrumental in diverting Akbar from the rigid Islam of the ulema. One of Faizi's quatrains may well express the ruler's own feelings:

O Lord, put my foot on the path of *tauhīd*!
Give me longing for the hidden chamber of isolation (*taʾrīd*)
Grant me the heart's connection with the journey of realization,
Give me freedom from the fetters of imitation (*taqlīd*)!²⁰

¹⁶ Id. II, transl. 215, text 212. He intends of course Sura II, the *Sūrat al-baqara*.

¹⁷ Id. III, transl. 127, text 80.

¹⁸ Id. II, transl. 205, text 202.

¹⁹ Id. II, transl. 201, text 199 ff.

²⁰ Ikram, *Armaghān-i Pāk*, p. 188.

An ecstatic experience during a hunting party in early 1578 contributed to the ruler's shifting towards an all-embracing religion instead of pure, orthodox Islam. Finally, in September 1579, Akbar issued the famous *maḥẓar*, called by Vincent Smith his 'infallibility decree', which gave recognition to the emperor's power of *ijtihād*; that means he gained the right to exercise his own judgment and to issue orders on matters of religion as well as politics, based on the principles of equity and justice. The just ruler, *sulṭān-i ʿādil*, was placed in this document above the *mujtahid*.

The document was drawn up by Shaikh Mubarak, and the *ṣadr as-ṣudūr* ʿAbdunnabi as well as other learned men were forced to sign it. But both ʿAbdunnabi and Makhdum ul-mulk (who disliked each other) were ordered to go for pilgrimage in this very year. The incredibly wealthy Makhdum ul-mulk²¹ died or was assassinated in Ahmadabad on his return, while ʿAbdunnabi was imprisoned slightly later (he had had a Brahman executed against Akbar's wish) and murdered in prison. Two years after the proclamation of the *maḥẓar* the *dīn-i ilāhī* was created, which may be called an order rather than a religion. Among its nineteen select members, only one was a Hindu. In the regulations of this eclectic movement the noblest ideas of various religious traditions were combined, for instance the prohibition of sensual lust, deceit, slander and oppression, ideas that suggest influences of Jain *ahimsā* and Catholic ideals of celibacy. A central facet of the *dīn-i ilāhī* is the veneration of light, whether the sun or a perpetual fire, which may have its roots in Zoroastrian practices. Abu'l-Fazl revived the Iranian idea of the *farr-i ʿizādī*, the *khwarena* or glory, which is the divine sign of true royalty, and recognizing this splendour in Akbar, therefore depicts 'His Majesty as the spiritual guide of the people'.²² Abu'l-Fazl was also responsible for the formulation of the 'four degrees' of absolute adherence to Akbar's person: one had to place at his disposal property, life, honour, and faith. Badaʿuni, whose former admiration for Akbar turns into aversion after the promulgation of the *dīn-i ilāhī*, as his former friendship with Faizi changes suddenly into hatred, reviles with poisonous pen one of the 'possessors of the four degrees in faith, the reprobate apostate' Sharif of Amul who 'chewed the cud of a host of foolish stories and is now one of the apostles of His Majesty's religion in Bengal'.²³

The *dīn-i ilāhī* was condemned by some authors, following Badaʿuni, as apostasy from Islam; others regard it rather as a heresy within Islam. In any

²¹ About his wealth see Badaʿuni, id. II, transl. 321, text 311.

²² *Ain-i Akbari*, transl. H. Blochmann and H. S. Jarett, Calcutta 1868-94, rev. D. C. Philloth, Calcutta 1939-40, p. 170 ff. *Ain* Nr. 77.

²³ Badaʿuni, *Muntakhab* II, transl. 255, text 248.

case, Akbar himself denied any claims to prophethood or divinity, even though the religious formula *Allāhu akbar* might have confused people since it could be interpreted as 'Akbar is God', thus pointing to the emperor's divine nature. The *dīn-i ilāhī* has also been called 'a heterodox personality cult' in which Akbar assumed the role of the *insān-i kāmīl*, the Perfect Man of whom the theoreticians of Sufism had long dreamt. Thus, Shaikh Tajuddin, a mystic of the Ibn 'Arabi school, who 'introduced arguments concerning the unity of existence as idle Sufis discuss, and which eventually lead to licences and open heresy, claimed that the expression *insān-i kāmīl* referred to the caliph of the age'²⁴—and that was Akbar. Again, the *dīn-i ilāhī* was considered as 'solar monotheism'; or one may find in its tenets traces of the Ishraqi school of Suhrawardī Maqtul (d. 1191), who had paid with his life for his tendency to unite in his philosophical system mystico-gnostic trends of Iranian, Greek and Islamic origin, and whose mysticism of illumination—the *ḥikmat al-ishrāq*—was not unknown to the Muslim intellectuals of India.

Akbar's ideal of *ṣulḥ-i kull*, 'peace with everyone', manifested itself in various ways. To be sure, he too continued to annex neighbouring territories; but in home politics he tried to give the Hindus a large share in the administration. Like Sultan Zainul'abidin of Kashmir a century earlier he too abolished the *jizya*, which was always regarded as a stigma on second-class citizens. He also removed all restrictions connected with the building of places of worship so that the Jesuit missionaries, with whom he had friendly relations, were able to erect some churches (as in Thatta in 1598); and the Hindus could build and repair their temples. Akbar granted the city of Amritsar as *jāgīr* to Guru Ramdas, the third *guru* of the Sikhs, and was thus instrumental in the development of this place into the centre of the slowly growing Sikh community.

It was natural for Akbar to try to gain the support of the majority of his subjects, the Hindus; for this reason he attempted to understand their culture and religion better than any of the preceding kings of Delhi. He promoted the capable ones to high rank so that even Bada'uni praises General Man Singh with the line:

A Hindu wields the sword of Islam!²⁵

His *manṣabdārī* system gave every government officer the right to follow all the practices required by his religion. Akbar also married Rajput princesses without interfering with their religious customs, a fact which made orthodox critics complain of his adherence to pagan rituals in his palace.

The study of 'useful sciences' instead of the prevalent stress on the tradi-

²⁴ Id. II, transl. 266, text 258-9.

²⁵ Id. II, transl. 239, text 233.

tional Arabic-Islamic curriculum was encouraged in 1587, as the chronogram 'decline of learning' = 995 shows, which Bada'uni invented who also sighs that:

The schools were as empty of learned men as the wine-seller's shop of wine-bibbers in Ramadan...

He also claims—and here even his admirers would raise some doubts—that 'a large number of shaikhs and *faqirs* were also sent to other places, mostly to Qandahar, where they were exchanged for horses...'.²⁶

As little as Akbar interfered with Hindu practices, he was understandably against the custom of *sati*; but it was possible under him—and probably only under him—that the first and unique Persian epic about a loving widow's self-immolation was composed: that is Nau'ī's (d. 1610) *Saz ā gudāz*, illustrated, as many manuscripts in Akbar's time, with delicate miniatures. For miniature painting reached its perfection under Akbar, and its topics ranged from the numerous illustrations of Abu'l-Fazl's *Akbarnāma*, the glorification of the emperor, to the large-format illustrations of the stories of Amir Hamza, and colourful topics from Hindu mythology. As Abu'l-Fazl writes in the *A'in-i Akbari*:

His Majesty, from his earliest youth, has shown a great predilection for this art, and gives it every encouragement, as he looks upon it as a means, both of study and amusement... I have to notice that the observing of the figures of objects and the making of likenesses of them, which are often looked upon as an idle occupation, are, for a well regulated mind, a source of wisdom, and an antidote against the poison of ignorance. Bigoted followers of the letter of the law are hostile to the art of painting; but their eyes now see the truth. One day at a private party, His Majesty... remarked: "There are many that hate painting; but such men I dislike. It appears to me as if a painter had quite peculiar means of recognizing God; for a painter in sketching anything that has life, and in devising its limbs, one after the other, must come to feel that he cannot bestow individuality upon his work, and is thus forced to think of God, the giver of life, and will thus increase in knowledge."²⁷

And as numerous painters adorned Akbar's court, thus poets, too, flocked to India from Iran, claiming that only there their talent could reach perfection. The chronologists during Akbar's time mention 170 poets, 59 of whom lived at the court. Among them, 'Urfī and Faizi were certainly the most outstanding figures. 'Urfī, the Shīa poet from Shiraz, is known as the master of grand and deeply felt *qaṣīdas*, although the biographers complain of his undue conceit. Faizi, who had been created poet laureate in 1576, not only plan-

²⁶ Id. II, transl. II 283 ff., text.

²⁷ Quoted in S. Cary Welch, *A Flower from every Meadow*, New York 1973, p. 94; particularly beautiful are the illustrations of the *Akbarnāma* in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. For *Saz ā gudāz* see Chester Beatty Library Persian Mss. Nr. 268, 269, and Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Suppl. Persan, 769, both with fine miniatures. English version of the epic by Mirza Y. Dawud and Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy, London 1912.

ned a quintet, *khamsa*, in imitation of Nizami's famous work but also produced two books in undotted letters to show his skill in the most abstruse forms of Arabic; one is on ethics (*mawārid al-kilām*), the other one a commentary on the Koran, called *Sawāḥiḥ al-ilhām* (1593), 'an almost useless piece of Arabic writing' (EI, 2nd ed., s.v. Fayḍī), about which the learned Qadi Nurullah Shushtari wrote a critical monograph. The comparison between him and 'Urfi was for centuries a topic of discussion in literary circles from Delhi to Istanbul. Bada'uni thinks that:

he could set up the skeleton of verse well, but the bones had no marrow in them...²⁴

And indeed, his elegant verse strikes the modern reader as much more cerebral than 'Urfi's. Faizi served as his king's envoy to several Indian courts, including Ahmadnagar, and worked also for some of Akbar's translation projects such as the *Mahābhārata*. When he died his adversaries invented clever nasty chronograms to show their aversion to this man who, as they thought, was largely responsible for Akbar's un-Islamic, if not anti-Islamic attitude. Alluding to his excessive love of dogs, they said *chī sagparasī mard*, 'What a dog worshipper had died!' (= 1004/1594) or: *būd Faizī mulḥidī* 'Faizi was a heretic' = 1004. And yet, it would be difficult to find any unorthodox sound in his beautiful *na'at* in honour of the Prophet of Islam who is:

The lofty pearl of the ocean of 'If thou hadst not been...'
With law and the Book (he is) a splendid light,
With sword and tongue (he is) a cutting proof...²⁵

Faizi's younger brother Abu'l-Fazl, the historian, also participated in the program of translation by which Akbar hoped to dispel the aversions of his Muslim subjects to Hindu literature. As Abu'l-Fazl puts it:

Having observed the fanatical hatred prevailing between Hindus and Muslims, and convinced that it arose only from their mutual ignorance, that enlightened monarch wished to dispel the same by rendering the books of the former accessible to the latter. He selected in the first instance the *Mahābhārata* as the most comprehensive, and that which enjoyed the highest authority, and ordered it to be translated by competent impartial men of both communities. By this means he wished also to show to the Hindus that some of their errors and superstitions had no foundation in their ancient books, and further to convince the Muslims of their folly in assigning to the past existence of the world so short a span of time as seven thousand years.²⁶

²⁴ Bada'uni, *Muntakhab* III, transl. 415, text 301. He also says: 'Both 'Urfi and Husain Thana'i have wonderful good fortune with their poetry, for there is no street or market in which the booksellers do not stand at the roadside selling copies of the *divans* of these two poets, and both Persians and Indians buy them as auspicious possessions, while it is quite otherwise with Shaikh Faizi, who has spent large sums from his *jāgīrs* in having his works copied, and illuminated, and nobody asks for them...' (id. III transl. 393, text 285).

²⁵ Ikram, *Armughān-i Pak*, p. 174 f.

²⁶ Abu'l-Fazl, see also *Ain-i Akbari*, transl. I p. 109 about translations from the Sanskrit.

In the translation of the *Mahābhārata* as *Razmnāma* he was assisted by 'Abdulqadir Bada'uni, whose 'knowledge of Sanskrit equally matched his dislike for the work undertaken at Akbar's behest',¹¹ and who prayed that 'God Almighty may protect those that are now engaged in this work and accept their repentance...' For why translate a work 'at the puerile absurdities of which the 18,000 creations may well be amazed'?¹²

Bada'uni was trained as a Hanafi scholar and, as he proudly tells, 'on account of the beauty of my voice' he was made one of the *imāms* at Agra in 1575. After 1596 he composed his historical work, the *Muntakhab at-tawārikh*, which is based on Nizamuddin Ahmad Bakhshi's *Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī*. However he kept his manuscript hidden in this time 'when the faith is exiled'. After lavishly praising Akbar in the beginning, he then paints his anti-Islamic attitude in the darkest colours, contrary to Abu'l-Fazl's most glowing tribute to the emperor in his *Akbarnāma*. But Bada'uni was not simply an orthodox, narrow-minded scholar; he was deeply interested in Sufism, having been initiated into the Qadiriyya and Chishtiyya, and had a deep respect for everyone who lovingly followed the divine law—Sufis be they or Mahdawis—as much as he disliked anything than smacked of the heretical or improper. Much of his criticism can be explained from his frustration during Akbar's later years; and in order to do justice to Akbar one has to weigh his criticism and Abu'l-Fazl's hero worship and flattery that 'verges on blasphemy'¹³ against each other.

Akbar certainly continued to show reverence to things Islamic; in 1584 one Shah 'Ali Turab and I'timad Khan of Gujarat, who had performed the pilgrimage at the same time as Akbar's aunt Gulbadan and his wife Salima, Gulbadan's niece, brought a footprint of the Prophet from Mecca, and Akbar, 'though it is difficult to guess the motive, went four *kos* to meet it...'.¹⁴ And we can most probably discard Bada'uni's statement that 'it was impossible even to mention the name of the Prophet...'.¹⁵

It seems that the 'un-Islamic' trends in Akbar's politics have also been exaggerated by the Jesuits who hoped to win him over to Christianity. And it will always remain a question of one's personal attitude whether to see in him the greatest of all Muslim rulers in India or to regard his success in unifying the vast country with its complex socio-religious problems as 'a perilous triumph' (so Ishtiaq Husain Qureshi).¹⁶

¹¹ Cf. S. A. A. Rizvi, *Muslims in Akbar's times*, p. 203ff.

¹² Bada'uni, *Muntakhab II*, transl. 330, text 320; cf. also his remarks about the Ramayana id. II, transl. 378.

¹³ W. Haig, in *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. IV, p. 111.

¹⁴ Bada'uni, *Muntakhab II*, transl. 320, text 310, s.a. id. III, transl. 164, text 111.

¹⁵ I. H. Qureshi, *The Muslim Community of the Indo-Pak Subcontinent*, 's-Gravenhage 1963, p. 104 (chapter heading of Ch. V).

While Akbar was engaged in creating internal peace in his kingdom a new religio-political movement sprang up in the Northwestern Frontier, comparable in certain ways to the Mahdawi movement which in those days was slowly but steadily losing momentum. Twenty years after the *mahdi*'s death, in 1525, another dissenting religious leader was born of Pathan stock in Jallandhar. This Bayezid Ansari's family claimed descent from Ayyub Ansari, the Prophet's standard-bearer, whose tomb is venerated in Istanbul. Young Bayezid, after a troubled youth, settled in his father's native area, Waziristan. He was endowed with a visionary nature, and it may be that early contacts with Yogis had added to his mystical inclinations. His adherents believed that he had learned the Greatest Name of God. The teaching which he laid down in a number of writings—the first religious literature in Pashto—often sounds like elaborations of Sufi doctrines; thus he saw in gnosis a duty of the individual seeker (*fard al-‘ain*) and regarded the perfect mystical guide as an embodiment of the old Sufi saying *takhallaqū bi-akhlāq Allāh*, 'qualify yourselves with the qualities of God'. He further required *tauba*, contrition, from his disciples and also imposed the *chilla*, forty days' seclusion, upon them; but his mystical path does not end, as Sufis generally hold, with *ḥaqīqat* but leads in eight steps to the final *sukūnat*, 'tranquillity'. Bayezid, the 'Luminous Master' (*pīr-i raushan*) began to preach around 1565, at the legendary age of forty, working mainly among his Pathan compatriots, especially the Shinwari near the Khybar Pass and the Mohmandzai; but he also sent missionaries, *dā‘īs*, to various places in India. It was probably not so much the religious aspect of the Raushaniyya that embarrassed the Moghuls but rather the influence that Bayezid held over the important, irritable North-western Frontier, and thus an army was sent against him. The Raushaniyya, hatefully called *Tārkiyya*, 'the dark ones' by the Moghul historians, defeated the imperial army first in 1585; Pir-i raushan himself lost his life. Then, Man Singh defeated their 20,000 footsoldiers and 5,000 horsemen in 1587; despite this defeat Bayezid's five sons continued fighting against the Moghuls in the Peshawar area till about 1640, and people still show the cliffs near Attock where two of the 'heretic's' sons were drowned in the Indus by the Moghul troops.

Bayezid's theories, as laid down particularly in his *Khair al-bayān* and poetically expressed by his companion Molla Arzani, have been explained differently.¹⁶ A strong influence of pantheistic mysticism is certainly visible;

¹⁶ See S. A. A. Rizvi, 'The Rawshaniyya Movement', *Abr Nahrain* VI, VII. Bayezid Ansari's main work is *Khair ul-bayān*; the *Hālnāma* contains his autobiography.

but it may be that Bayezid had contacts with the small pockets of Isma'ilis in Badakhshan and Hunza; for some of his teachings, as well as the envisaged social structure of his community are reminiscent of Isma'ili interpretations of the faith. Even if his mission failed outwardly it must be said to his credit that he elevated Pashto to the rank of a literary language (his descendants excelled as mystical poets in their mother tongue) while the theological adversary of the Raushaniyya, Akhund Darweza (d. 1638), developed the scholarly expressiveness of the language further in his refutation of Bayezid's doctrines in the *Makhzan al-Islām*; members of his family in turn—among them the proverbial Akhund of Swat, Muhammad Qasim—continued the tradition of legalistic works in Pashto.

The last years of Akbar's long and successful rule were overshadowed by the rebellion of his favourite son Salim and especially by this son's being responsible for the assassination in 1602 of Akbar's faithful friend Abu'l-Fazl while on his way to his post in the Deccan. Akbar never forgave his son; but when he died in 1605 Salim succeeded him as Jahangir.

Jahangir's reign, like that of his ancestors and descendants, was troubled by insurrections and internal feuds which are usually overlooked when one admires the glory of the Moghul Empire. One period of Jahangir's reign has been described in detail by Thomas Roe, who lived in India from 1615 to 1619 and was able to obtain trading privileges for the recently founded British East India Company; the Company, in exchange, became a naval auxiliary to the Moghuls so that the Muslims boats could safely sail to Arabia.—At the very beginning of his reign Jahangir had to quell the rebellion of his eldest son Khusrau, who was supported by Guru Arjun; Arjun's execution in 1606 was the turning point in Sikh history, for it was he who had collected the sacred writings of the community in the *Adi Granth* and who had set up an organisation for his followers who were evolving, over the course of the century, into a military power. In 1613 Prince Khurram (later Shahjahan) rebelled likewise. The loss of Qandahar to the Safawids in 1622 was a heavy blow for the Moghul empire because the city was an important trade centre between the Middle East and the Indus valley; the fortress changed hands several times, but all attempts to reconquer it permanently were doomed to failure.

It seems that Jahangir envisaged a slightly more orthodox policy than his father, but that was not an easy task. Part of the problem was the growing influence of the Shia. One of the leading thinkers of Shia Islam, Nurullah Shushtari (born 1542) had reached India in 1584 and was made chief *qāḍī* in Lahore two years later. He was a prolific writer in Arabic, and despite his Shia persuasion he was an absolutely impartial judge who opined according to all four Sunni schools. As Bada'uni says:

Although he is by religion a Shia he is distinguished for his impartiality, justice, virtue, modesty, piety, continence, and such qualities as are possessed by noble men, and is well known for his learning, clemency, quickness of understanding, singleness of heart, clearness of perception and acumen... In truth he has reduced the insolent *mufitts* and the crafty and subtle *muhtasibs* of Lahore, who venture to give lessons to the teacher of the angles [i.e., Satan], to order, and has closed to them the avenues of bribery and restrained them without due bound as closely as a nut is enclosed in its shell, and to such a degree that stricter discipline could not be imagined.³⁷

This strictness, however, is probably the cause for his fall. Jahangir had him summoned for a minor problem but, dissatisfied with his *taqiya* (he claimed to be a Shafiite) and, as we may infer, instigated by the ulema who worked under him and disliked his honesty, he had him flogged to death in 1610. Thus, Nurullah Shushtari became 'the third martyr' of Shia Islam.

However, Shia influence continued increasing in the court circles, for not only did most of the poets who immigrated from Iran profess the Shia creed, but in 1611 Jahangir married Mihrunnisa, called Nur Jahan, whose first husband had died previously under mysterious circumstances. Nur Jahan, already 34 years old, was for all practical purposes ruler of the Empire. Her father I'timadaddaula and her brother Asaf Khan soon became most influential in the kingdom, and Jahangir, whose main field of interest was natural science rather than statecraft, enjoyed his life and noted down his meetings with interesting men and animals in his autobiography, the *Tuzuk-i Jahangiri*. Although he tried to introduce stricter Islamic measures by prohibiting the sale of wine, he himself drank heavily. That, however, did not hinder him from an intense veneration of saintly people, particularly the Qadiri saint Mian Mir in Lahore, who was largely responsible for his grandson Dara's later interest in mysticism. The Hindu ascetic Gosain Jadrup of Ujjain too belonged to Jahangir's friends, and a Sufi dedicated to him an abstract of the *Yoga Vahishta*. Jahangir also continued his father's visits to Ajmer, and like him he encouraged poets and artists at his court; pictures which copy European topics—for instance a print of Dürer or Christian scenes—are quite common in his time. The painters also depicted him, preferring a Sufi saint over the great rulers of this world,³⁸ and the chiliastic hopes of Akbar were inherited by his son, who is seen in a famous miniature embracing the Persian Shah, while lion and lamb rest at his feet—the king who brings eschatological peace.³⁹

But the peace was restricted to painting. During Jahangir's reign several

³⁷ Bada'uni, *Muntakhab* III, transl. 193, text 137.

³⁸ R. Ettinghausen, 'The Emperor's Choice', *Essays in honor of Erwin Panofsky*, New York 1961.

³⁹ Jahangir standing on the lion, the Shah of Iran on the lamb, is one of the most frequently reproduced Moghul miniatures, see S. C. Welch, *Imperial Mughal Painting*, New York 1978, pl. 21.

mystics appeared who were regarded as a danger for the empire. To be sure, when the ecstatic Sayyid Ahmad Afghan of Bajwara seemed to stir up the Afghans of his native place by his preaching and was therefore imprisoned in Gwalior for three years, his movement was only a passing phase in Indian history. Much more important was the man who tried to revive Muslim orthodoxy in the Subcontinent and who has lately been praised by some as a symbol of a truly Muslim attitude in a world filled with unbelief; who, 'by setting a noble example of his forceful personality... saved Islam from disintegration',⁴⁰ and blamed by others as the preacher who administered the poison of communalism to the Indian Muslims.⁴¹ That man was Ahmad Sirhindi.

Born in 1564 in Sirhind to 'Abdulahad, a mystic of the Sabiriyya line of 'Abdulquddus Gangohi, Ahmad studied in Sialkot, then an important centre of philosophy and theology, and became quite friendly with Faizi and Abu'l-Fazl for a short while. One of his first treatises was written in refutation of Shia views, for as J. M. S. Baljon says about the representatives of Sunni orthodoxy: 'Any self-respecting Muslim scholar produced, usually in his youth, a polemic against Shiism'.⁴² And indeed, for Ahmad Sirhindi 'the worst of innovators are those who bear malice against the companions of the Prophet. For love, even exaggerated love, of the Prophet's family was part and parcel of everyone's faith; only the *tabarrā*, the aversion to and even cursing of the first three caliphs, seemed abominable to the Sunni Muslims when it came to Shia practices. In 1599 Ahmad was accepted into the Naqshbandi order by Khwaja Baqi billah (1563-1603).

The Naqshbandiyya traces its *silsila* back to Yusuf Hamadhani, a leading master of the 'sober' tradition in the 12th century, and was finally organized by Baha'uddin Naqshband (d. 1389). Under his successors, particularly Khwaja Ahrar (d. 1490) it grew into an eminently political power in Central Asia and Afghanistan. Emphasizing silent *dhikr* in contrast to the more emotional orders that could attract large crowds of followers and friends by means of common loud *dhikr*, religious music and whirling dance, the Naqshbandis stress the purification of the soul and the strict adherence to the practices of the Prophet. Their way is based on eight principles:

hāsh dar dam awareness in breathing (for no breath should be lost without remembering God)⁴³

⁴⁰ M. Ishaq, *India's Contribution to the Study of hadith*, p. 142.

⁴¹ Thus S. A. A. Rizvi, whose *Muslim Revivalist Movements* violently attacks Sirhindi's views.

⁴² J. M. S. Baljon, 'Characteristics of Indian Islam', *Studies in Islam*, Amsterdam 1974, p. 56.

⁴³ Breath control was common with the Sufis, particularly in India. A typical example is the remark of the Suhrawardi saint Makhdum Nuh of Hala (d. 1590) concerning Sura 81/8: 'When the girls that have been buried alive shall be asked.' He explains: 'A person who loses his breath

nazar bar qadam watching one's steps so that one is not distracted when walking in the crowd
safar dar wajan interior mystical journey
khalwat dar anjuman solitude in the crowd
yad kard constant occupation with *dhikr*
bāz gasht restraining one's thought
nigah dasht to watch that one's thoughts are always with God
yad dasht concentration and constant awareness of God's omnipresence.

This sober attitude enabled its followers to counteract movements which seemed to blur the distinction between Islam and other religions and attracted people even without formal conversion.

Baqi billah was a quiet man who led a secluded life; he did, however, correspond with scholars like 'Abdulhaqq Muhaddith and politicians like Akbar's trusted friend Farid Bukhari. His disciple Ahmad tried much more energetically to follow the Naqshbandi practice of ameliorating the world, and although he composed quite a few books and treatises his main fame rests upon his 534 Persian letters, which were described by Jahangir as 'a bunch of absurdities'. In one of these letters Sirhindi states that he had reached the subtleties

of spiritual experiences which Shaikh Muhyiuddin ibn 'Arabi made clear as it behoves, and this poor person (i.e. the author) was honoured by the manifestation of the Essence which the author of the *Fuṣṣūṣ* has explained and which he knows as the end of the ascension beyond which there is, as he says, only pure not-Being (*al-'adam al-mahdī*)..."

Such claims, i.e., to have surpassed Ibn 'Arabi's station by reaching the last Divine manifestation or to have attained a rank higher than that of the caliphs, nay, the rank of *mahbūbiyat*, 'being beloved', made Ahmad suspect in the eyes of many of his colleagues. Jahangir summoned him to Agra in 1619 and had him imprisoned in the fort of Gwalior, 'so that his disturbed disposition and confused mind would calm down a little...'.⁴² In Gwalior Ahmad Sirhindi lived through the spiritual experience of God's Tremendous Power (*jalāl*). After a year he was released and given a royal gift, but kept under surveillance. He died in 1624. Iqbal says about his tomb in Sirhind which is still a place of pilgrimage:

The dust, which is a rising point of lights—
 the stars are ashamed of the particles of that dust,
 The dust by which is covered one who knew the mysteries..."

without using it in the *dhikr* of God Almighty is as if he buries the innocent breath-shaped ones by his tyranny alive in the earth. From such careless persons will be asked on the Day of Resurrection why they have lost their breath.'

⁴² *Selected Letters*, ed. Fazlur Rahman, Karachi 1968, p. 247. Other important information in Badruddin Sirhindi, *Hazarāt al-quds*, Lahore 1974.

⁴³ Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i jahangiri*, transl. A Rogers, and H. Beveridge, repr.; see S. A. A. Rizvi, *Muslim Revivalist Movements* 287 f.

⁴⁴ Muhammad Iqbal, *Bāl-i Jibril*, Lahore 1936, p. 211.

Ahmad Sirhindi had been called *imām-i rabbānī* and *mujaddid-i alf-i thānī*, because he seemed to have arrived in India as the renovator who was to be expected at the beginning of the second millenium after Muhammad. The theories of *tajdid*, renovation, are laid down in his letters quite clearly but sometimes assume amazing forms.⁴¹ Thus, Sirhindi claimed that Muhammad possessed during his lifetime two individuations, the bodily-human and the spiritual-angelic, symbolized in the two *m* of his name. By the end of one millenium the bodily manifestation had completely disappeared and the first *m* was replaced by an *alif*, in Islamic letter mysticism the symbol of *ulūhiyyat*, Divinity. Thus *Muhammad* became *Aḥmad*. The 'perfections of Prophethood', which have been gradually disappearing since Muhammad's time, will reappear in persons who deserve such a blessing because they are the Prophet's heirs and followers. The concept of the 'Prophetic perfections' remained a central point in the teachings of all his followers. The *mujaddid* is called upon to fulfill some of the Prophet's tasks with regard to his community; a 'common believer'—whatever that means—, a man from the *umma*, is trusted with this task. Ahmad Sirhindi built up an intricate theory of the 'common believer' but revealed the final mysteries only to his closest friends. One can, however, be quite sure that his word *Muhammad Aḥmad shud*, 'Muhammad has become Ahmad' points to his own name, Ahmad. He also regarded himself as the *qayyūm* upon the world rests, a rank that is meant by the *amāna* (Sura 33/72), the trust which heaven and earth did not accept. As *qayyūm*, he is superior to the *quṭb*, the highest member of the generally accepted mystical hierarchy:

All the angels, spirits and human beings and every other object look toward him for assistance. He is the intermediary between man and the Almighty of all spiritual and mundane benefits.⁴²

The claim to possess this supreme rank, which would be inherited by three of his descendants, sounds absurd to a modern reader, and as towards the end of the 17th century 'Abdullah Khweshgi from Qasur indeed accused the *mujaddid* of having arrogated Prophetic qualities thus lately Maulana Maududi was very critical of Ahmad Sirhindi's claim to be the *mujaddid*.⁴³

Ahmad Sirhindi's teachings develop logically out of his aversion to Akbar's policy of reconciliation, which is, in his eyes, anti-Islamic. This explains the frequent discussions about the 'perfections of prophethood' and the 'perfections of sainthood', and the emphasis on *qurb al-farāʿiḍ*, proximity to God as obtained through legally prescribed works (which is the way of the prophets)

⁴¹ Analyzed best in Y. Friedmann, *Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindi*, Montreal London 1971.

⁴² *Maktūbāt* II Nr. 74, quoted by Rizvi, *Revivalist Movements* p. 266 ff.

⁴³ Abu'l-Ala Maududi, *Tajdid ū ihyā-yi dīn*, Rampur 1945, p. 161 f. Cf. also Rizvi, l.c., p. 270.

against *qurb an-nawāfil*, proximity reached through supererogatory works (the way of the saints). That again is connected with the problem of 'intoxication', the station of the saints, and 'second sobriety', the station of the prophets. These distinctions then form the basis of Ahmad's theory of the superiority of *waḥdat ash-shuhūd* over Ibn 'Arabi's *waḥdat al-wujūd*: the mystic, intoxicated, experiences unitive ecstasy and sees nothing but God; in spiritual intoxication which does not change after his 'return', he feels that 'Everything is He', *hama āst*, if he is a poet, or tries to build up and elaborate the doctrine of Unity of Being if he is a philosopher. As for the wayfarer who follows the Prophetic example, he will reach the same station but will finally return, purified and transformed, into the world (*sair ilā'l-ashyā*); then he knows that the unitive experience is subjective, not objective: not 'Everything is He' but rather 'Everything is from Him' (*hama az āst*)—that is his credo.

Thus the psychological types of what European history of religion calls 'mystical and prophetic piety' are clearly carved out by Sirhindi, who however relies on earlier mystical theories. Important is the emphasis on the return to the world—although the world is only half-real because only that aspect that is turned toward God has some reality. It is the duty of the mystic of the sober or 'prophetic' type to work in the world in order to ameliorate it according to the Divine order. He experiences, as one of Sirhindi's followers says in a beautiful image, that his heart, at the end of the spiritual road, is surrounded by the light of the circular letter *h*, the last and essential letter of the name of God, *Allah*, which points to the Divine Ipseity, *hāwiyā*; and embraced by this light he fulfills his duties.¹⁰

On a basically simple foundation the Naqshbandiyya could develop their role in the political and social life of India. As the order had been politically influential in Central Asia under 'Ubaidullah Ahrar (whom Babur admired greatly), Ahmad Sirhindi adopted the ideal of the earlier masters that 'to serve the world it is necessary to exercise political power, and to bring the rulers under control' (J. Fletcher). For this reason many of Ahmad's letters are directed to the nobles of the Moghul court, among them Khankhanan 'Abdurrahim, whom he tried to win over for the revival of orthodoxy. He felt that the infidels should be humiliated, the real purpose of levying the *jizya* on them, and he even defended cow sacrifice, which had been prohibited by Akbar, as 'the noblest Islamic practice'.¹¹ He also fought for the suppression of all innovations, against ignorant *pīrs* and against the superstitions of women, such as fasting in the name of saints or sacrificing something at a saint's tomb

¹⁰ Nasir Muhammad 'Andalīb, *Nāla-i 'Andalīb*, Bhopal 1308/1890-1, I 270.

¹¹ Rizvi, *Revivalist Movements* p. 249 ff.

(which, according to him, amounted to *shirk*, the greatest possible sin). It is disputed to what extent Aurangzeb was influenced by the second *qayyūm*, Sirhindi's son Muhammad Ma'sum; the fourth and last *qayyūm*, Muhammad Zubair, died shortly after Nadir Shah's sack of Delhi in 1740. The importance of the *qayyūms* has been described with endless miraculous details in the unpublished hagiographical work *Rauḍat al-qayyūmiyya* by Abū'l Faiz Kamaluddin Ihsan, which was completed after the last *qayyūm*'s death.¹²

All his aversion to traditional Sufism notwithstanding, Ahmad Sirhindi, too, gratefully acknowledged Ibn 'Arabi's role as the great systematizer of mystical knowledge to whom all later mystics are indebted for their tools, i.e. their technical terminology; and although he regarded *waḥdat al-wujūd* as only a preliminary step on the way to the Absolute Truth, he still used Ibn 'Arabi's vocabulary without hesitation, as did almost all the later Sufis.

Ahmad Sirhindi's contemporaries' views on his pretensions were divided. One great believer in his claims was 'Abdulhakim Sialkoti (d. 1656) whose commentaries on the standard works of dogmatics and grammar were used all over India, who introduced the mystical philosophy of Molla Sadra Shirazi in the Subcontinent, and whose fame reached the Ottoman Empire already during his lifetime. It was this scholar who openly called Ahmad by the honorific title of *mujaddid*. On the other hand, the great master of *ḥadīth* in Delhi, 'Abdulhaqq Dihlawi (d. 1642), made some very negative remarks about him: he castigated Sirhindi for 'lack of humility' and held that his arrogant attitude was unprecedented; he compared him to the Mahdi of Jaunpur who also claimed to have acquired all the perfections of the Prophet by faithfully following him. He even felt that 'a Muslim bristles with horror at statements of the kind that Sirhindi made'.¹³

'Abdulhaqq himself came from a mystically-minded family. His paternal uncle belonged to the Shattari order and had composed some works in Hindi. The young scholar, 'a compendium of perfect qualities and a source of excellence', studied in Mecca for several years. His master in *ḥadīth*, 'Abdulwahhab Burhanpuri, was the disciple and famulus of one of the outstanding Indian immigrants to the holy city, 'Ali al-Muttaqi of Burhanpur, a place which at that time, besides being an important strategic point, housed an remarkable settlement not only of Sindhi mystics but also of Sindhi weavers who contributed to its spiritual and economic bloom respectively. 'Ali al-Muttaqi had left Burhanpur for Multan, then acted as *qāḍī* in Ahmadabad and finally reached Mecca in 1534 to die there in 1568 as a nonagenarian. His

¹² A Ms. of the *Rauḍat al-qayyūmiyya* is preserved in the Asiatic Society of Bengal; it has never been edited, but Urdu versions exist, see S. M. Ikram, *Rūd-i kauthar*, Lahore, 4th edition, 1969.

¹³ Friedmann, *Sirhindi*, p. 89.

well-arranged handbook of *ḥadīth*, the *Kanz al-ʿummāl*, is most useful for everyone interested in the applicability of Prophetic traditions. After a brief digression ʿAlī al-Muttaqī turned into a fiery enemy of the Mahdawīs as can be seen from his work *Talkhīṣ al-bayān fī ʿalāmāt mahdī ākhīr az-zamān*, which, like the *Kanz al-ʿummāl*, is based on Suyūṭī's work. ʿAbdulhaqq Dihlawī dedicated his biographical work *Zād al-muttaqīn* to the memory of his two teachers in Mecca and, after his return to Delhi, produced numerous Arabic and Persian works in *ḥadīth* studies, historiography and hagiography, of which the *Akhbār al-akhyār*, a handbook of Chishtī saints (he came from the Chishtī-Sabirī *silṣila*) deserves mention. He had a friendly correspondence with Khwaja Baqī billah, the first major Naqshbandī in India, and built up a remarkable library predominantly with works on tradition. He employed scribes to copy rare works in this field and others; and the interest in *ḥadīth* remained alive in his family through several generations. But Ahmad Sirhindī's ecstatic utterances in his opinion transgressed the borders of orthodox Islam.³⁴

The main activities of ʿAbdulhaqq Muhaddith as well as of ʿAbdulhakīm Sialkotī and Molla Mahmūd Faruqī Jaunpurī (d. 1653) belong to the period of Shahjahan, an age 'of white marble inlaid with jewels, if not actually an age of gold'.³⁵ Jahangīr had died in 1627; Nur Jahan, who erected his elegant mausoleum in Lahore-Shahdara, died in 1645 and is buried in a lonely tomb, separated now from her husband's mausoleum by the busy railway line. Her brother, Asaf Khan, was instrumental in Prince Khurram's accession as Shahjahan. This prince, born in 1592, had rebelled against his father; he was certainly not unaware of the mysterious circumstances of the death of his eldest brother, Khusrāu, in 1622. Asaf Khan finally blinded Khurram's other brother, Shahriyār, and thus secured the throne for him, the husband of his daughter Mumtaz Mahal. The princess, one year younger than her husband, died at the birth of her fourteenth child in Burhanpur (1631), and the emperor erected in her memory the Taj Mahal, that most famous monument of Indo-Muslim art.

In the political field Shahjahan was partly successful; from Burhanpur, a glacis for the Deccanī war, he annexed Daulatabad and completely incorporated Ahmadnagar into the Moghul Empire; in Bengal he seized Hooghly from the Portuguese. In home politics 'the empire had begun to assume the glacial hardness of the stones he so admired',³⁶ for he followed a

³⁴ S. A. A. Rizvī says that the Muhaddith had positive and tangible influences, while the Mujaddīd's influence was negative and damaging, *Revivalist Movements*, p. 280.

³⁵ S. C. Welch, *The Art of Mughal India*, New York 1963, p. 101.

³⁶ S. C. Welch, *id.*

more orthodox policy, disallowed the erection of new temples, began even to demolish some temples in 1633, and reinstalled the pilgrimage tax for Hindus: conversions to Hinduism which had occurred, though rarely, were again prohibited. Yet a work like the *Mir'āt al-makhlūqāt*, a Persian version of a Sanskrit treatise on Hindu cosmology, was composed in his reign (1631) by 'Abdurrahman Chishti from the Sabiriyya centre in Rudauli.¹⁷ 'Abdulhakim Sialkoti dedicated to the Emperor the *Risāla al-khāqāniyya*, which deals with the qualities of God, and Molla Mahmud Jaunpuri, the philosopher, was invited to Agra. This scholar's main work, *Al-hikma al-bāligha*, to which he chose to write his own commentary, *Ash-shams al-bāzigha*, became the standard work on philosophy, prescribed in the final course in the major religious institutions in India, such as the Firangi Mahal, whose founder, like many others, commented upon it. Molla Mahmud was not inclined towards *wahdat al-wujūd* and refuted the relevant theories of Muhibbullah Allahabadī, while his compatriot, 'Abdurrashid Jaunpuri, was—contrary to him—'so absorbed in the study of Ibn 'Arabi's work that he declined an invitation of Shahjahan'.¹⁸

The emperor continued the traditional tripartition of the religious administration, the chief *qāḍī* being in charge of problems of the *shari'a*, the *ṣadr aṣ-ṣudūr* of the endowments, and the *muhtasib* acting as censor of public morals. Muslim festivals were lavishly endowed—30,000 rupees were spent in Ramadan, and 10,000 rupees each in the months of Muharram, Rajab, Sha'ban and Rabi' al-awwal. On the other hand Shahjahan surrounded himself with a splendid array of poets, painters and artists and was perhaps the greatest connoisseur of luxury goods in his time; he also indulged incessantly in building. In 1638, when the Taj Mahal was still under construction, he laid the foundation-stone of Delhi Fort, the *Lal Qila*, 'Red Fort'. The Jami Masjid opposite the fort was built between 1648 and 1650 so that the new 'classicistic' Delhi became known as Shahjahanabad. The *Windsor Shah-jahānnāma* with its superb miniatures reflects the glory of his reign, for he enjoyed being portrayed in full imperial majesty in the midst of his nobles. His last years, however, were overshadowed by the conflicts between his sons, Dara Shikoh and Aurangzeb, in whom the tendencies inherent in Indian Islam seemed to be personified: Dara representing the search for a common basis, a 'mystical' identity between Islam and Hinduism—built upon the first half of the profession of faith, e.g., 'There is no deity save God', to which mystically-minded Hindus could as well subscribe, while Aurangzeb, possibly under

¹⁷ S. A. A. Rizvi, *Revivalist Movements*, p. 353 ff.

¹⁸ Brockelmann, *GAL* II p. 612.

Naqshbandi influence, laid emphasis on the singularity of Islam as expressed in the second half of the profession of faith: 'Muhammad is the Messenger of God', by which Islam is singled out as a particular religion whose limits are determined by the law brought by the Prophet.

When Ahmad Sirhindi died in 1624, Jahangir's eldest grandson was nine years old. Dara Shikoh was born on March 19, 1615, ten years after the death of his great-grandfather Akbar, whose ideals he tried to revive. Like Jahangir, Dara was born in Ajmer, where his father Khurram had prayed for a son. That explains perhaps the father's excessive fondness for his eldest son, a fondness that disturbed Aurangzeb deeply. Shahjahan ascended the throne in 1627, but the heir apparent showed more interest in reading, calligraphy and mysticism than in practical politics while 'Alamgir Aurangzeb, junior to him by four years, excelled already as a mere boy in many virtues: Kalim, the poet laureate, dramatically describes the fifteen years' old prince's successful fight with a wild elephant, a scene that forms also the subject of some miniatures. At the age of 18 Aurangzeb was appointed governor of the Deccan. An early visit with his father at the sanctuary of Mian Mir in Lahore, where the ailing boy was miraculously cured, was probably decisive for Dara's development; contrary to the Moghul allegiance to the Chishtiyya, he later became affiliated to the Qadiriyya order.

The first Qadiri Sufis found their way to the Subcontinent in the early 15th century,⁵⁹ but the Qadiriyya was formally introduced in the Subcontinent by a descendant of the founder, Shaikh Bandagi Muhammad Ghauth (d. 1517), who settled in Uch; the house of the *sajjadanishin* is still the centre of the order in Pakistan, where the records of the *silsila* are kept. From Uch the order spread through the southern Punjab where Shaikh Da'ud, inspired by visions during his stay at Farid Ganj-i Shakar's shrine, founded the first centre between Multan and Pakpattan, as his faithful admirer, Bada'uni, tells.⁶⁰ Then the Qadiriyya reached Sind, and there, in Sehwan, Mir Muhammad ibn Qadi Sa'indino, called Mian Mir, was born in 1550, shortly before his maternal grandfather Qadi Qadan, the first noted Sindhi mystical poet, died. Mian Mir settled in Lahore, leading a celibate life. Miniatures show him with his shawl tied around his knees and back so as to form a kind of 'chair', the arthritic fingers keeping a rosary. The saint died in 1635 and is buried in a lovely

⁵⁹ A small *ziyarat* in Kallakahar in the Salt Range, Pakistan, is defined, by a modern inscription, as the place where two grandsons of Abdulqadir Gilani were slain by the Hindus in 566/1170-1. That would be the first date of Qadiri presence in the Subcontinent. In Bijapur, first traces are found in 1422.

⁶⁰ Bada'uni, *Muntakhab*, III, transl. 57, text 53.

mausoleum in the Cantonment area of Lahore. Iqbal sings in the *Asrār-i khūdī* (1915):

He was the flute of love's music;
His tomb protects our city from all harm.⁶¹

Dara devoted his Persian book *Sakīnat al-auliya* to the memory of Mian Mir, his friends and his saintly sister, Bibi Jamal Khatun (d. after 1639).

Mian Mir's *khatifa*, Molla Shah Badakhshi, whose disciple Dara became in 1640 in Kashmir, was, contrary to his master, a prolific writer. He discovered in Dara and even more in his elder sister Jahanara excellent subjects for spiritual education, and the young prince was for him not so much the worldly *ṣāhibqirān*, 'the Lord of the felicitous conjunction' (as Timur and Shahjahan were called) but more than that: 'the *ṣāhibqirān* of the heart'. Dara himself asserts that:

In the prime of my youth a voice from the Unseen addressed me four times saying: 'God will give you something that has not been conferred upon any emperor of the world'.

And Jahanara Begum, who after her mother's death had become the beloved and respected First Lady of the Empire, says in the same strain:

Of all the descendants of Timur, only we two, brother and sister, were fortunate to obtain this felicity. None of our forefathers had tread this path in quest of God and in search for the Truth.⁶²

To be sure, the prince did not care much for austerities but felt with Maulana Rumi's expression that 'worldliness means, not remembering God. It does not consist either in dress or in having sons and wife'. But he apparently learnt to practise *habs-i dam*, the retention of breath in *dhikr*, as taught by Molla Shah as by most Indian Sufis.

In spite of various assignments, including the abortive attempt to reconquer the strategically and economically important citadel of Qandahar from the Persians in 1653—an attempt in which even the good soldier Aurangzeb had failed twice before—Dara Shikoh usually found a way to delegate his duties to others so that he could devote himself to his studies. It is said that he accepted the governorship of Allahabad in 1645 (although he never resided there) simply because he wanted to be close to the leading mystic of the city, Shaikh Muhibbullah, with whom he corresponded about mystical topics.

Muhibbullah (1587-1648), a descendant of Farid Ganj-i Shakar and member of the Chishti Sabiri school of Rudauli, had settled in Allahabad in 1628. He was one of the most outspoken defenders of Ibn 'Arabi's *waḥdat al-wujūd* and wrote Persian and Arabic commentaries on the *Fuṣūṣ al-hikam*.

⁶¹ Muhammad Iqbal, *Asrār-i khūdī*, Lahore 1915, line 1341-45.

⁶² B. J. Hasrat, *Dara Shikoh*, Calcutta 1952, p. 66.

but his favourite book was 'Iraqi's *Lama'at*. His Sufi commentary on the Koran, *Tarjamat al-kitāb*, and his numerous other works gained him the surname 'the Ibn 'Arabi of India'; in fact, his *Anfās al-khawāṣṣ* is built, like the Magister Magnus' *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*, around the various prophets and saints, who form the basis for his mystical theories. Although Muhibbullah, like formerly 'Abdulquddus Gangohi who belonged to the same order, emphasized the importance of religious observances, he was accused of heresy, and the ulema even issued a *fatwā* to have him executed, though without success. Still Aurangzeb summoned his successor and threatened him with burning the shaikh's book in which he had claimed, among other things, that Gabriel is not a winged angel but rather a hidden spiritual power in the Prophet—a statement that sounds like a prefiguration of later trends of demythologization.⁸³

Dara Shikoh's numerous Persian works were written in fast sequence, and he was not exactly modest in his claims:

Consider this to be a work of *qādir* (the Almighty), not of *Qādirī* (the prince's pen-name), meaning that he regarded his words as divinely inspired. But although his *Diwān* is called *Iksīr-i a'zam*, 'The Mightiest Elixir', his verse is fairly pedestrian. The contents are those of Sufi poetry in general: Paradise is where no mulla is; immediate spiritual experience is contrasted with blind imitation—topics that permeate Indian mystical poetry up to Iqbal, who starts from the opposite view point and yet reaches similar conclusions. Dara felt the Unity of Being everywhere, and so he changed the initial formula 'In the name of God...' into the verse:

In the name of Him who has no name,
Who lifts His head at every name you call...

For the main objective of his numerous studies in Sufi history and thought was to find a common denominator for Islam and Hinduism. The title of his book *Majma' al-bahrain*, 'The Mingling of the Two Oceans' (Sura 18/60) points to this ideal. In this work the prince tried to compare Sufi expressions with technical terms of Hinduism, as it had been done during Akbar's time by Mir 'Abdulwahid Bilgrami.⁸⁴ Part of Dara's attempt at reconciliation were his disputations with the Hindu sage Baba Lal Das; but his greatest undertaking was the translation of fifty Upanishads into Persian, which he called *Sirr-i akbar*, 'The Greatest Mystery', or *Sirr al-asrār*. This translation was made in 1657 with the help of some Pandits. Dara regarded the Upanishads as 'a book

⁸³ Rizvi, *Revivalist Movements*, p. 334 ff.

⁸⁴ Mir Abdulwahid Bilgrami, d. after 1572, *Ḥaqā'iq-i Hind*, ed. S. A. A. Rizvi, Benares, quoted in Rizvi, *Revivalist Movements* p. 61.

that is hidden' (Sura 56/78), and since the Koran thus points to it, its knowledge is incumbent upon the Muslims, for it is 'a treasure-house of monotheism'. Dara's translation forms the basis for Anquetil Duperron's Latin version of the *Oupnek'hat, id est secretum tegendum*, which at its publication in 1801 fascinated many European thinkers.⁴³

Dara's mysticism remained on the theoretical level; he had no way to implement it in practical politics, which would have been difficult anyway. When Shahjahan fell ill in 1657, Aurangzeb seized the opportunity to fight against the heir apparent and finally defeated him. His faithful wife, Nadira Begum, who accompanied him, died on the road; Dara sent some of his few soldiers back to carry her body to Lahore that she might be buried close to Mian Mir as she had wished. Aurangzeb soon afterwards apprehended him; he was found guilty of apostasy and was executed together with one of his sons in 1659. His sister continued the mystical tradition; a gifted writer, she attained such an extraordinary development that Molla Shah considered her to be worthy of being his *khalifa* if that had been possible. Molla Shah died in poverty 1661; Jahanara outlived him for twenty years and is buried in the Nizamuddin compound in Delhi.

It was probably not only Dara's vivid interest in Sufism and his attempt to acknowledge the values of Hinduism that enraged his brother. It may have been also the unusual people with whom he surrounded himself. His private secretary was the gifted Hindu writer Chandarbhan Brahman, a disciple of 'Abdulahakim Sialkoti; but even European visitors marvelled at the strange figure of the *juif et athéiste* Sarmad. Sarmad was a Persian or Armenian Jew who had studied Christian and Islamic theology, partly with Molla Sadra of Shiraz, whose philosophical works were just being introduced in India by 'Abdulahakim Sialkoti. Sarmad converted to Islam, became a merchant, lived some time in the port of Thatta, an important trade centre and factory of the East India Company; there he fell in love with a Sindhi Hindu boy and became a dervish, in all likelihood under the shock of an overwhelming mystical love. Via Golkonda he reached Delhi where he joined Dara's entourage and was addressed by the prince as 'my master and preceptor'. He used to walk around stark naked, defending himself before the prince with the punning quatrain:

The One who gave you royal glory (*shikoh*)
Gave us all the implements of confusion—
He gave a dress to everyone whose faults He saw;
To the immaculate He gave the dress of nudity.⁴⁴

⁴³ For an account of editions of his works, s. A. Schimmel, 'Islamic Literatures of India', in J. Gonda, *History of Indian Literature*, Wiesbaden 1973, p. 39, note 178.

⁴⁴ Ikram, *Armaghān-i Pak*, p. 236.

Sarmad's quatrains belong to the finest expressions of mystical, antinomian thought; in their deep melancholia they seem to foreshadow his sad end: he followed the line of Hallaj and 'Ainulqadat Hamadhani, like them regarding Satan as the true lover and monotheist since he would prostrate himself only before God and would rather suffer the curse of his Divine Beloved than disobey His pre-eternal Will.

Sarmad, do not talk about the Ka'ba and monastery,
Do not walk in the street of doubt like those gone astray!
Go, learn the art of servanthip from Satan:
Chose one direction of prayer, and do not prostrate yourself before anyone else!⁴¹

Like his models, Hallaj and 'Ainulqadat, Sarmad, too, was executed (1661). He rejoiced at the hangman's coming:

A charming one, who was our friend, cut my head from the body—
He made the story short; otherwise there would have been much headache.⁴²

The executioner was for him only another manifestation of the Beloved. He was buried close to the Great Mosque in Delhi, and the modest tomb of 'Sarmad the Martyr' is still being visited. His thoughts about Satan as the true lover and model monotheist are echoed, a century later, in Shah 'Abdullatif's Sindhi poetry and, in a certain way, in Iqbal's satanology.

Another member of Dara's circle was Muhsin Fani (d. 1670), once a disciple of Muhibbullah Allahabadi. Muhsin, who usually lived in Kashmir where Dara, as all members of the Moghul court, spent most of his summers, wrote learned theological works and composed mediocre Persian poetry which abounds in the imagery of Essential Unity. He was for a long time credited with the *Dabistān-i madhāhib*, a strange work on comparative religion which, however, seems to originate from the pen of a Parsi author who tried to describe the characteristics of the religious currents in India; the book is, even in its English translation, utterly confused, although it contains some interesting observations about Parsis, Christians, Hindus, Tibetans, Jews, philosophers and Sufis.

Shahjahan died in Agra in 1666; his daughter Jahanara kept him company during his last years, and his granddaughter Zebunnisa followed her aunt's example by choosing the path of scholarship and mysticism. This daughter of Aurangzeb had a number of learned works translated into Persian, among them Fakhruddin Razi's *Tafsīr* which appeared in Mulla Safiuddin's render-

⁴¹ Id. p. 238.

⁴² B. A. Hashmi, *Sarmad*, IC VII 1933, VIII 1934. An uncritical appraisal by J. A. Ezekiel, *Sarmad, (Jewish Saint of India)*, Radha Soami Sassany Beas, Punjab, 1966.

ing as *Zeb-i tafāsīr*. Zebunnisa was also a poetess who wrote Persian poetry under the pen-name of *Makhfi*, 'Hidden', or *Zeb*.⁶⁹ Her sister Zinatunnisa, like all of Aurangzeb's daughters endowed with excellent religious education was famous for her charity; she built numerous caravansarais and the fine Zinat al-masajid mosque in Delhi.⁷⁰

Her father, Aurangzeb 'Alamgir, is blamed by most historians for his stern, orthodox attitude. Indeed, his whole reign is characterized by a constantly hardening attitude toward the more enjoyable aspects of life. He gave up customs that had long been practised at the Moghul court, like the *darshan*, when the emperor showed himself every morning at a window so that his subjects were blessed by his radiant view; likewise the weighing against gold and silver that had been customary at a person's birthday or at other festivities was abolished, although the money from this act was then distributed to the poor. Prohibition was enforced, and after the eleventh year of his reign Aurangzeb disallowed music in his presence. Painting too was no longer encouraged by the ruler, and official historiography stopped. Still, in all these fields the tradition continued—the poets, who had been writing in an increasingly difficult Persian style, developed now an idiom that was far away from the realities of life; painting continued at the minor courts of Hindu and Muslim rulers, and the historians composed their chronicles in spite of the imperial verdict, or migrated to places where their services were welcome.

When Aurangzeb reached his 61st year, in 1678, he turned even more strongly against worldly pleasures; towards the end of his life, in 1699, he stopped the Muharram festivities. Some temples were destroyed during his reign; and, abolishing a great number of irregular taxes, he re-introduced the *jizya*. He also tried to win over Hindus by promising them government offices *bā shart-i Islām*, provided they embraced Islam. The legal decisions, known as *Fatāwā-yi 'Alamgīrī*, which were collected and edited by a group of leading juriconsults under the chairman Nizamuddin Burhanpuri, whom the emperor had known from his early days in the Deccan, is an important document for the legal history of Muslim India and allows many insights into Muslim institutions in the later 17th century.⁷¹

Aurangzeb disliked exaggerated mystical claims and the 'dangerous' attitude of the representatives of *wahdat al-wujūd* as well as popular saint wor-

⁶⁹ *Fifty Poems* transl. by Magan Lal and J. D. Westbrook, London 1913, Lahore 1954. The identity of *Makhfi* is still disputed. Some scholars hold that *Makhfi* is a male poet's pen name while the princess wrote under the *takhalluṣ* 'Zeb'.

⁷⁰ The Zinat al-masajid on the bank of the Jumna became the meeting place of Urdu poets in the early 18th century.

⁷¹ The *Fatāwā-yi 'Alamgīrī* ed. in 6 volumes Bulaq 1276 h/1859.

ship, but he was fond of moderate Sufism. He was moved to tears when Rumi's *Mathnawī* was recited before him and visited holy men like 'Abd-ullatif Burhanpuri who advised him to lead a virtuous life, to fix stipends for deserving people who trust in God, and to protect the oppressed. In fact, in the war of succession the Sufis of Burhanpur sided with him as did most of the *sayyids* while the Shia leaders, among them the influential Barah *sayyids*, had generally supported Dara. Aurangzeb's modestly mystical attitude is alluded to in a praise poem which Ghanimat Kunjahī (d. 1695), a typical 'escapist' poet of the age, devoted to him:

On the throne of the sultanate the glory of Jamshed;
In the seclusion (*khaḥwat*) he was Ibrahim ibn Adham...⁷⁹

thus comparing him to the legendary Bactrian prince who gave up his kingdom to travel on the path of asceticism.

Aurangzeb also took an interest in Muslim education. During his time the Firangi Mahal in Lucknow developed from modest beginnings into a leading college, and the emperor was always willing to give grants to poor students in proportion in their proficiency. But his famous complaint about the inadequacy of methodology in Muslim education, which Bernier related from the ruler, is most certainly a fabrication by the French visitor, probably spun out of some remarks of Aurangzeb, in order to offer his own impressions about Muslim schools in India.⁸⁰ For Aurangzeb's reign was not devoid of fine scholars in the traditional sciences. Abu Sa'īd Molla Jiwan (d. 1717), the specialist in Muslim jurisprudence and philosophy, with whom the emperor read Ghazzali's *Ihyā' 'ulūm ad-dīn*, is as remarkable as his colleague Muhibb-ullah Bihari (d. 1707), the *qāḍī* of Lucknow who was then promoted to the office of chief *qāḍī*; his *Musallam ath-thubūt* (chronogram 1109 = 1697) is one of the important later textbooks on *uṣūl al-fiqh* and was appreciated even in Egypt, while his *Sullam al-'ulūm* is regarded as the best Indian work on logic. Among the poets, Nasir 'Alī Sirhindi (d. 1697) is an interesting figure; he accompanied Zu'lfiqar Khan in his military operation in the Carnatic and paid a poetical homage to Shaikh Hamiduddin Auliya of Kanchī and later in life joined the Naqshbandiyya order. He and the more important Mirza Bedil (d. 1721) deserve detailed studies, the intrinsic difficulties of their style notwithstanding. Bedil's dynamic worldview deeply impressed Iqbal, as he admits in his notebook of 1910, and his lyrics and prose works are intensely studied in Afghanistan and Muslim Central Asia.

Aurangzeb's efforts to restore the Islamic character of the House of Timur

⁷⁹ Ikram, *Armaghān-i Pak*, p. 248.

⁸⁰ Aziz Ahmad, *An Intellectual History of Islam in the Subcontinent*, Edinburgh 1969, p. 55.

have often been branded as sheer fanaticism and were negatively compared with Akbar's benevolent attitude towards the Hindus and other non-Islamic communities. But the emperor had to fight against heavy odds. His fate was tied in with that of the Deccan ever since he had been viceroy in the south at the age of eighteen. As other princes before him he mercilessly got rid of his brothers—in the war of succession the first victim was his elder brother Shah Shuja¹, who had been governor of Bengal and was a Shia. Following that, in the same year of 1659, the heir apparent Dara Shikoh was executed as a heretic, and two years later the execution of the youngest brother, Murad, who had been imprisoned in Gwalior, took place. That was only the beginning of an almost interminable series of wars, and at one time or the other Aurangzeb had to imprison all his five sons except one. The Sikh incurred his wrath, and the execution of their leader Guru Teg Bahadur in 1675 led to violent actions of the community which was to extend its influence during the next 150 years over the predominantly Muslim area in the northwest of the Subcontinent. The Pathans—both Afridis and Yusufzai—formerly rather loyal to the Moghuls, revolted. Their able leader Khushhal Khan Khattak (d. 1689) is renowned not only as an ardent fighter for freedom from foreign administration, but also as the best and most prolific poet in his mother tongue, who sang delightful love songs, mystical words of wisdom and passionate complaints from prison in his native Pashto. Although some Rajputs still maintained friendly relations with Aurangzeb, others rebelled, causing longstanding feuds and wars in the central provinces, while the Marathas rose in the Deccan under their able leader Shivaji (d. 1680) and demoralized the Moghul troops. For more than a century they continued their constant fight against the Muslim powers that represented law and order.

In 1681 Aurangzeb once more went to Burhanpur, never to return to Delhi. From that base, Bijapur and Golkonda were finally annexed in 1686 and 1687. It is told about the last ruler of Golkonda, Abu'l-Hasan Tana Shah:

When finally captured by Aurangzeb's officers... he invited his captors to breakfast with him, then explained how with equal indifference he accepted pleasure and pain as gifts of God, who had made him a beggar, and then a king, and then again a beggar...¹⁴

The Shia kingdoms of the South, which the Moghuls had always regarded as a possible source of danger because of their friendly relations with Shia Iran, were thus eliminated; but now the Moghul Empire was left without the southern bulwark to protect it from the Marathas. The morals of the army deteriorated, the discipline of the imperial officers was lax, and the state's

¹⁴ Mark Zebrowski, Portrait of Tana Shah, in S. C. Welch, *A Flower from every Meadow*, Nr. 79.

financial resources began to fail. At the same time, European influence in India spread and waxed stronger. The Portuguese, whose presence had disturbed the Indians since 1498, were followed by the British East India Company with settlements and factories in various parts between Thatta and Bengal; Bombay was acquired in 1661 by King Charles II as part of the dowry of his Portuguese wife, Catherine of Braganza. The French, who began to covet the treasures of India, settled in 1688 in Pondicherry; the Dutch had a few minor settlements.

Like his forefathers Aurangzeb was a good writer, and his letters allow us an insight into his soul. The last letters reveal the fears of a man who, in spite of all outward glory and apparent harshness, was very well aware of his failure:

I know not who I am, where I shall go, or what will happen to this sinner full of sins...

The last miniatures painted during his reign show him, nearing ninety, on his throne, bent over his rosary and counting the prayer beads. He, who had hoped to restore Muslim glory and power and to extend the empire to its widest possible limits was not able to consolidate this empire. It fell in pieces immediately after he died on March 3, 1707.

CHAPTER FOUR

MUSLIM LIFE AND CUSTOMS—SAINTS AND THEIR TOMBS— MYSTICAL FOLK POETRY

The customs, rites and rituals that crystallized in the first centuries of Islamic rule in India were to remain more or less unchanged for the centuries to come. It goes without saying that in a vast area like the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent many local customs were incorporated into the basic forms of religious life; on the lower level, superstitions, magic, and various unorthodox trends can be observed here as in other parts of the Muslim world, and the reformers in the 18th to 20th centuries never ceased attacking them. On the higher level, influence from Hāṭhayoga can be traced in some writings of medieval Sufis in Bengal and Hindustan. But one should not overemphasize them; on the whole the life of the Indian Muslims was patterned according to the injunctions of the Koran and the *sunna* of the Prophet, and thus resembles in its fundamentals Muslim life anywhere.

The religious centre of life is the mosque, be it the small *masjid* or be it the congregational *jāmi'*, for contrary to the Hindu ideal of 'retiring in the forest' in advanced age, the Muslims knew that it was meritorious to perform the central rite, ritual prayer, in congregation, and the larger the congregation the better! Joseph Horovitz writes:

The number of mosques is surprisingly great, sometimes even in small places; the *hadith*, particularly common in India, although rarely found in inscriptions of other countries, e.g. 'Whoso buildeth for God a place of worship, be it like a nest of a *qatā* bird, God buildeth for him a house in Paradise' may have served as an incentive to many a pious man to build a mosque; but we are probably not far from the truth if we ascribe the wish of many a builder of them also to the influence of the Hindu environment where it was, and is even nowadays, the ambition of every rich man to have a temple of his own.¹

To this explanation one may prefer the idea that the builders wanted to produce a visible sign of Islamic presence in a foreign environment—for the oldest minarets, such as Qutub Minar in Delhi and Chand Minar in Daulatabad (1445) can be interpreted as 'Towers of Glory'.

The plan of the oldest known mosque in the Subcontinent, that of Bhambhore (Sind) is derived from that of contemporary mosques in Abbasid Iraq,

¹ Horovitz, 'A List of published Mohammedan Inscriptions of India', in *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, II, Calcutta 1909-10, p. 15.

but generally the style of the mosques varies according to local customs:² in the desert or the mountain areas of Sind and Balochistan one finds simple *namāzgāhs* made of stones which encircle a rectangular place whose western side, facing the *qibla*, is marked by a semicircle. Sometimes the stones are arranged in decorative patterns. Behind the *mihrāb* a branch of a tree may be found, perhaps a reminiscence of the early Arab custom to mark the direction to Mecca by placing a lance in the ground. The boatmen in Makran use old bamboo oars bound together by outworn fishing nets to produce a place for worship, and a visitor saw in this area a *namāzgāh* surrounded by the palates of sawfishes. In the salt mines of Khewra (Punjab) a prayer-place is built from multicoloured bricks of salt. In areas where more trees are available, as in the 'Idgah of the Dyers in Dadu (Sind), trees are placed like columns in the enclosure and spread welcome shade with their branches. Often, a little broom is left in the enclosure so that the area can be kept clean, and the entrance is always barred to keep animals out. Huts made of acacia twigs can serve as *masjid* in the Thar desert, while in the Northwestern Frontier one finds small prayer houses made of rock with a roof of juniper trunks. In Pakistan's northernmost part, small mosques with artistic woodcarvings are found, which may even have a summer and a winter prayer room due to the extreme climate. On the other hand, the mosques of the Mapillas at the Coromandel coast resemble the turretlike Shiva temples, and some of the modern mosques in Chittagong, with their playful network of thin wooden structures at the roof and the minaret give an almost East Asian impression.

The rulers of Indo-Pakistan immortalized their names by building most beautiful places of worship. The Adhai din ka jhonpra in Ajmer, which, like its contemporary, the Quwwat al-Islam mosque in Delhi, was built to a large extent from the spoils of Hindu temples, shows some superb Kufic inscriptions on its high vaults. Wherever the Muslims reached in the following centuries, a congregational mosque was required; and places like Jaunpur, Mandu, Gaur and particularly Ahmadabad show the various stages of adaptation of Indian techniques and the development of new styles so that the main mosque in Ahmadabad seems to 'indicate the intention to endow the mosque with the inwardness of the temple'.³ Persian architects transplanted Persian stylistic features to India, but often Hindu workers were used in the construction so that the mosques sometimes assumed a character quite different from those in the central and western parts of the Islamic world. Tughluqid mosques are utterly simple, built of tall stones, while a century later large prayer

² For the following see M. G. Konieczny, 'Unbeachtete muslimische Kultstätten in Pakistan', *Baessler-Archiv*, XXIV, 197-215.

³ M. Mujeeb, *Islamic Influence*, p. 5.

halls were adorned with forest-like carved pillars. The roof constructions offer elegant solutions; for contrary to the Hindu temple the mosque needed a vast central room—open or covered—for the praying congregation. The material varies according to the area; stone was used in most of the central provinces, brick in Bengal, where stone is not found; Kashmiri mosques, built of wood, assume the pyramidal shape of traditional temples. The combination of red sandstone and white marble, and finally the exclusive use of white marble in Moghul architecture has produced buildings that appear to the Western spectator as beauty materialized. But even the provincial Moghul style, far away from Agra, Delhi and Lahore, has a charm of its own; a fine example is the Great Mosque of Thatta (1635) with its ninety-two small domes and the complicated star motifs in coloured tiles in the entrance portico. Coloured tiles were popular in Sind, with its long-standing tradition of pottery, and in the Punjab; the tiles of the Wazir Khan Mosque in Lahore are typical of the flower decoration used on religious and profane buildings in the later Moghul period. The traditional Moghul mosque, with its polygonous, tapering minarets that are crowned by little helmet-like pavillions, was imitated for centuries, and only recently some mosques in modern style, resembling elegant big white tents with slim minarets have been erected in Pakistan (Lahore; Karachi Defence Mosque).

Special attention should be paid to the inscriptions that were used on religious buildings. First, in rare cases, the classical, often plaited, Kufic is found, but almost simultaneously huge *naskh* characters appear (thus on the Qutub Minar) which usually lack the elegance of inscriptions farther west: to produce Arabic lettering was certainly not easy for the Hindu stone-cutters. Complicated forms, too, were used, such as *ughra*, mirrored script, rosettes, etc. In Moghul times the Koranic inscriptions in Agra, Sikandra and Delhi are of flawless beauty. Highest standards were met in the *nasta'liq* of Persian (often poetical) texts.

The use of Arabic is almost entirely confined to inscriptions of mosques and tombs. But its place on these latter has been early taken by Persian which, from about the tenth century [hijri], we find frequently resorted to even on mosques... Quotations from the Koran or *hadith* are frequently met with in the inscriptions...⁴

Later one not rarely finds Persian poetical inscriptions of historical content, and the author might give the date of its completion in a clever chronogram: Mīr Ma'sum calls his Memorial Tower in Sukkur *sāq-i 'arsh-i barrīn*, 'the leg of the lofty Divine Throne' = 1003/1594.

Since the inscriptions were unintelligible to the normal Muslim, they might

⁴ Horovitz, 'A List', p. 10.

gain a sanctity of their own, and the difficult styles used in epigraphy, particularly artistic combinations of letters in *ṭughrā* style, made them appear highly enigmatic even to those who knew at least some Arabic or Persian. Thus it happened in Bengal that

they are poured over with milk and oil by votaries who look upon them as powerful amulets or by the sick who catch the dripping liquid and get cured.¹

After all, the words of the Koran carry in themselves a strong *baraka*, blessing power, even though one does not understand them.

Besides the mosques, in which the architectural ideals of the Muslim rulers were expressed best, one finds the *Idgāh*, a large place with a simple enclosure and a prayer niche, where the faithful use to assemble for the morning prayers at the *Id ul-fiṭr* and *Id ul-aḍḥā*; they rarely claim outstanding architectural beauty.

Religion also largely determined the style of housing and clothing. The Muslim custom of segregation made it necessary to construct the house for this purpose—hence the importance of a central courtyard for the ladies where they could take fresh air without being seen from outside; of special bathrooms, etc. Logically, in these closed compounds a typical women's idiom developed in the various indigenous Indian languages.

Dress too was distinct from that of the Hindu neighbours. Tailored clothing, as M. Mujeeb remarks, is closely connected with the Muslims who could barely perform their prayers in draped or tied clothing, as the women needed a decent covering from ankles to neck.² Indian miniatures allow us a glimpse at the various fashions at least in the upper classes. A shirt and wide trousers (to facilitate prostrations and genuflections in prayer) as well as a cap were the essential features of a man's dress, which of course could vary from the simplest to the most expensive material. Silk, however, was regarded as unfitting for pious men; likewise, the yellow colour was avoided. The jackets of the Muslims were fastened on the left, those of the Hindus on the right; in cold days one might wear a waistcoat, often of embroidered velvet. Under British influence, the long black coat, *angarkha* or *shirwānī*, closed to the neck and worn over the wide white *shalwār* emerged as a semi-official dress. The normal headgear in old times was the turban, from whose shape, material and style of binding one could easily recognize descent, profession and home of a man—be it the huge and multifolded white turban of the Baloch tribesman, the white or blue turban with a long hanging or stiff starched end wound around a gold-embroidered skull cap as worn by many Pathans, the

¹ Id., p. 16, quoting Blochmann from the *JASB* XLIV p. 290.

² Mujeeb, *Islamic Influence*, p. 11.

Sindi style with the upper end plaited like a fan, or the elegant small Moghul and Rajput turbans which are known from miniatures. In some regions, as in Sind, tight caps of peculiar shape, embroidered with mirrors, were and are still common, as are the round double rimmed brownish felt caps of the Pathans in Swat. The introduction of the Turkish fez (*turkt tōpī*) by Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan in the 1870's was a sign of daring modernism.

Men are supposed to wear a beard according to the Prophetic tradition that 'the beard is the light of God'. In old age one might dye the beard with henna.

The female attire is likewise variegated, the Muslim ladies preferring *shalwār qamīṣ* or *kurtā*, the long baggy trousers with a wide or tight shirt. However, the graceful *saree* was adapted by many women; the *gharāra*, full flared pants with a shirt, became more and more a festive dress. A *dūpatta*, a long scarf, is required so that the head and if necessary the face, can be properly covered. In noble families, a piece of wardrobe was worn only once and then given away—; still a few years ago a venerable old Sindhi lady pitied us modern women who were not given every morning a new set of clothes by our husbands... If a *pardah*-observing woman goes out at all, she is covered by her black or white *burqa*⁷; she may even wear gloves to hide the skin of her hands. For more emancipated women 'modest demeanour and a pair of sunglasses'⁸ are usually the remnants of the veil.

The whole life was regulated according to the strictest rules of etiquette. The example of the Prophet, as laid down in the traditions, has shaped the behaviour of Muslim society all over the world, and the emphasis which the Sufis laid on proper behaviour (*adab*) has tinged the life style largely. 'Proper behaviour is the servant of religion', is an old Sufi saying, and the children grew up according to time-honoured rules, learning how to address their elders, their friends, their servants; and to call a person *bē adab*,—without proper etiquette—was the harshest insult. This etiquette showed itself in every aspect of life and proved an important help in times of disintegration.

* * *

Man's whole life from the moment of conception develops—or at least developed until recently—in this framework of religious etiquette. During pregnancy certain saints are invoked that a boy might be born:

We'll take a vow that a son might be born...⁹

⁷ Doranne Jacobson, 'The Veil of Virtue: *Pardah* and the Muslim Family in the Bhopal Region of Central India', in Imtiaz Ahmad (ed.), *Family, Kinship and Marriage*, p. 199.

⁸ A. Schimmel, 'Hochzeitslieder der Frauen im Indusdal', *Z. f. Volkskunde*, Stuttgart 61/2, 1965, p. 225.

In some areas, thus in the Deccan, a special rite, *sātmāsa*, was celebrated during the seventh month of pregnancy. In case of protracted labour amulets were hung around the woman or 'water in which the beard of some holy man has been dipped is administered to her...'.⁹

The call to prayer is whispered into the newborn child's left ear, the profession of faith in his right ear; some honey is put in his mouth, and a proper name is selected. Every boy, however, should bear the name of Muhammad or one of its derivations (Ahmad, Mustafa, etc.). Sometimes names are given by way of oracle: the first letter of any page of the Koran that is opened at random furnishing the letter by which the name should begin; or astrological considerations are made according to the name of the star that rules the hour, or the day of birth. Parents whose child is born through the intercession of a saint may call a boy by names like *Ghauth Bakhsh*, 'Gift of the Helper' (= 'Abdulqadir Gilani), *Ṣaḥibdinā* 'Gift of the Lord' or, in Sindhi, *Sā'inrakhiō*, 'the Lord has placed him',¹⁰ or call him 'So-and-so's slave', like *Ghulām Ghauth* 'the Help's servant'. In later days parents might express the year of the birth by a fitting name, like *Ghulām-i āl-i Muḥammad* 'the servant of Muhammad's family' = 1194/1780. The sons of *sayyids* often put the word *Shah* after their first name or *Mir* before the name (Husain Shah, Mir Dard).

Indeed, the name of a child will to a certain extent be determined also by the clan or class in which he is born, for the Muslims in India are usually—rightly or wrongly—divided into four categories among whom the *sayyids* as the Prophet's descendants play the most important role. They form the uppermost level among the *ashrāf*, the noble families who claim foreign ancestry and are contrasted to the *ajlāf*, the low indigenous orders. *Ashrāf* culture, being associated with the ruling classes, came to stand by and large for the ideal Muslim way of life.

Sayyids often indicate their descent by designations such as Husaini, Kazimi, Rizwi (the latter ones particularly influential in India), or by the birthplace of their ancestor who migrated to India, like Gilani, Kirmani, Bukhari. The *sayyids* have to undergo special restrictions in accepting gifts, and *sayyid* women keep still stricter *purda* than other ladies so that some even do not allow a pregnant woman from outside to come close out of fear that a

⁹ Jafar Sharif/Herclofs, *Islam in India*, p. 22.

¹⁰ A ship in South India, devoted to 'Abdulqadir Gilani, was named 'Muhyiuddin Bakhsh', Kokan, *Arabic and Persian in Carnatic*, p. 444, and Bada'uni (*Muntakhab II*, transl. 243, text 236) tells that he delivered an elephant to Akbar who 'asked, "What is its name?" I replied 'Ram Prasad'. His Majesty replied, "Since all this success has been brought about through the Pir (i.e. Salim Chishtī), its name shall henceforth be Pir-Prasad".'

future 'man' may contaminate her; and I heard a Pathan woman complain that her aunt who had been extremely conscious of her *sayyid*ship was—alas!—now buried besides a *Mirza*, e.g., a member of Persian or Turkish families...

The largest group among the Indian Muslims are the *shaikh*, who are supposed to be descendants of Quraishite families, but comprise most of the Hindu converts—Shaikh Muhammad Iqbal came from a converted Kashmiri Brahman family.—Families of Persian and Turkish origin were categorized as Moghul and often called *Mirza*, while those who had entered India with any of the Afghan tribes are the Pathan. Here as with the Baloch, the word *Khān* is placed after the proper name and may be followed by the tribal denomination (Khushhal Khan Khattak; Jamal Khan Bugti); ethnic groups from the Punjab and other areas, too, tend to use their ancestral clan name as family name (Chima, Awan, Kanboh).

Proper names like Bismillah, Insha Allah are predominantly found among the Pathans. But in other areas too Indian Muslims have a certain predilection for grandiose names such as Iʿjazulhaqq, Miʿrajuddin, Salimuzzaman, etc. These are not always correct from the grammatical viewpoint; thus Perso-Arabic compositions develop out of forms as were used among the illiterate: a simple Chiragh Din was later persianized to Chiragh-i Din, and out of this impossible form the next, more educated generation might develop the good Arabic name Sirajuddin. Sometimes the origin of such compositions is difficult to discover, as in Jasimuddin; for names can be altered according to the local pronunciation with *z* and *j* often been interchanged. Sometimes siblings bear names beginning with the same letter, or rhyming with each other. Certain Arabic nouns are in use for both males and females (Iqbal, Mumtaz, etc.). Shiites or families with particular inclinations towards the Prophet's family—for instance Sunni *sayyids*—may express their love of 'Ali and his descendants by names Ghulam Husain or Kalb 'Ali. Upper class families like Persian names, particularly for girls; compound feminine names like Wiqarunnisa, Amat al-Karim, etc. are likewise frequent. Sometimes *Bibi* precedes the name (Bibi Fatima) or *Bi* follows it (Pari Bi). In families attached to a special saint or *pir* the spiritual guide may chose the name for the newborn; in rural areas the landlord—even though he might be a Hindu—was requested to name a tenant's boy; and Badaʿuni, when still a loyal servant of Akbar, asked the emperor to select a fitting and blessed name for his newborn son.

Once the baby is born, the women express their thanks in many songs. A Sindhi song in praise of the *pir* whose intercession has helped to give birth to a boy says:

Refrain: Your miracles, o Lord, God has shown us.
Much joy has appeared, O Lord, you made us forget grief and sorrow!

Our *pīr* is famous among the *pīrs*—
Whoever was weeping, he makes him live in joy!

Refrain: Your miracles...

Nose ornaments have I made, solid,
For the *pīr* with his blissful mausoleum, who has taken away our grief!

Refrain: Your miracles...

Arm decorations have I made, solid,
As a praise for the Prophet's descendant who made appear the little son...¹¹

On the sixth day one usually had *chhañ*, the first bath of mother and child, when new clothes were distributed; similar festivities were held on the twentieth and especially on the fortieth day with much merrymaking and, if possible, sumptuous food.—A special rite might be performed if many children of a mother had died in infancy. Shah Waliullah's son 'Abdul 'aziz was cast, after the first bath, in the *mīhrab* of the mosque to form a *nadhr Allah*, a votive gift for the Lord. In such cases a name that secures long life might also be chosen (Jāvid, 'Abdulbāqī).

When the newborn is seven days old (or a multiple of seven, up to 35) the hair is shaved for the first time, and its weight in silver is given as alms. The *'aqlqa* offering at this occasion consists usually of goats—two for a boy, one for a girl—which have to be absolutely without blemish. In some areas one has *khīr chatāi* when the child is about five months old and gets its first food, generally some milk rice, besides mother's milk. The weaning is also celebrated, usually at the age of two, which is the legally prescribed length of breastfeeding.

When the child reaches the age of four years, four months and four days the ceremony of *Bismillah* is due, during which the mulla used to write the *basmala* with sandal paste and the child was supposed to lick it; often, the beginning of Sura 96, "Read, in the name of thy Lord..." is recited. Sweetmeats are distributed, and in the case of little girls, the sidelocks are braided for the first time.—Circumcision, *khutna*, takes place usually between the age of seven and twelve; since this act is taken as a sign that the boy now really becomes part of the Muslim community, it is commonly called *musulmānī*; in some areas the boy is led in a procession to a saint's shrine at this occasion. The operation was usually performed by the barber, *hajjām*, whose wife often acted as a midwife. The boy is sent to school where he learns the Koran. In Sind one begins schooling, if possible, on a Wednesday, and the proud mother and aunts sing:

¹¹ Schimmel, 'Hochzeitslieder', p. 227.

My blessed little king, the boy shall read *emi* [*juz*¹³ *'ammā*, the last part of the Koran],

The boy shall read *emi*, shall read the thirty parts [of the Koran],
 Shall go to school laughing, shall lift his shoulders joyfully,
 Shall obey his teachers, etc. etc..¹²

When he has finished the Koran the tutor or teacher is given a robe or a present. The teacher's role is important; among other things he writes *'idī*, poems and good wishes for the children at the occasion of the feasts, and receives an *'idī*-gift from the parents. In many villages the *zamīndār* or another well-to-do citizen builds a school (which may be just a small enclosure near a tree) where the boys learn the essentials of Islam; in higher ranking families the children, including the girls, were often tutored by private teachers in Arabic and Persian so that they could not only perform their religious duties but also enjoy Persian poetry; to learn some calligraphy was also deemed necessary for a well educated person.—When the child was about nine years old, the *rōza koshāī* was celebrated, i.e., the first time that it participated in the fasting during Ramadan. This occasion was not, as most other festivities, accompanied by music or merrymaking.

Then comes the time for marriage,¹³ which ideally—at least according to the orthodox—should take place immediately after the girl's first menstruation; hence their constant refusal of marriage laws in both India and Pakistan where the age limit of sixteen is fixed. Many families prefer marriage in kin groups, particularly cross-cousins, for cousin marriage is regarded as contributing 'to a more successful adjustment of the bride, to the conservation of economical resources, and cooperation between the relatives'.¹⁴ In ethnical groups or the so-called 'castes' marriage outside the group is rare; thus the Kashmiris in the Punjab still prefer to marry among themselves, and in some of the lower classes the custom of first-cousin-marriage is continued with all rigidity so that a girl may have to wait until her future husband, who may be ten years junior to her, has reached puberty. Often, one reverts to exchange marriages, so that for the daughter that is 'given away' a daughter-in-law from the bridegroom's family comes into the house; therefore large numbers of sons, otherwise coveted by the families, are not welcome, because then the brides become too expensive.¹⁵ In the upper class joint families, too, marriages outside the family were rare since the polygamous system provided a

¹² Id.

¹³ Cora Vreede-de Stuers, *Parda, A Study of Muslim Women's Life in Northern India*, New York 1968, particularly Ch. II on *ashraf* marriages.

¹⁴ D. Jacobson, 'The Veil of Virtue', p. 181 ff.

¹⁵ Zekiye Eglar, *A Punjabi Village in Pakistan*, Columbia Univ. Press New York 1960, p. 91 ff. A young *sayyid* lady told me in 1978 that after the birth of her daughter she 'stopped having children, for where should she find enough husbands for possible further daughters?'

rather wide choice of possible partners, and I heard an old Pir bitterly complain when his niece was married into another Pir's family: "For the last 500 years we did not give away a girl of ours...!" Of course, the question of *kufūwat*, equality, plays an important role in the arrangement of marriages, and in the *sayyid* families as well as among the ruling classes a girl would rather be kept at home for even than be married to a non-*sayyid* husband. Only slowly are these rigid structures breaking up, with female education progressing.

In cases where no interfamily marriage was envisaged, the *mashāfa* or the barber's wife would always be well informed about possible matches and act as go-between if necessary. The preparations for the wedding take a long time and are accompanied by complicated customs; but the central part on which the two parties have to agree is the *mahr*, the sum which the husband has to pay to his wife and whose amount is stipulated in the *nikāhnāma*. Although this contract, which is a must in every marriage, could secure the wife's rights she usually was, and still is, not aware of the rights she, or her representative, can stipulate in the marriage contract. Marriages were, and still are, very expensive, and not only the Lucknow writer Sharar complained a century ago of the '*aqd-i nikāh* 'the extravagance of which causes hundreds of families to become financially ruined',¹⁶ but modern women's organisations and in 1978 the Pakistan government have tried to interfere with the exaggerated luxury such as illuminations and sumptuous dinners for hundreds of guests. However, for the women in traditional Muslim society, who rarely, if at all, left the house and had no other distraction, the arrangement and celebration of weddings was almost the only entertainment in life—hence their protests against the modern, forced austerity.

The customs for the wedding ceremonies differ regionally. The exposition of the dowry is an important part of the festivity everywhere, as is the piercing of the bride's nose for the nose-ring. The procession of the bridegroom (*nau shāh* 'new king') which is called in parts of the country with a Turkish word *sanchaq*, 'flag', may go first to some saint's tomb where a *Fātiḥa* is recited. Rituals like the henna night, the ceremonial bathing of the bride, and the cutting of the bridal dress by seven happily married women, belong more to folklore than to religion; but the songs that are sung in Sind (and probably also in other regions) while the groom prays in the mosque reflect the pride of the participants in their Muslim tradition:

Refrain: The one who is as beautiful as a peacock struts with the whole community—
The community fasts thirty days, performs the prayer five times a day...

¹⁶ Sharar, *Lucknow, the last Phase of an Oriental Culture*, London 1975, p. 205.

Refrain: The one...

As a heirloom has come to the Prophet the clean copy of the Koran...

Refrain: The one...

O God, Thou hast brought our boats to Shahbaz in Sehwan...

Refrain:...¹⁷

As in most Islamic countries the bridegroom in Indo-Pakistan is supposed to see his bride's face for the first time in a mirror while she is reading the Koran, a ceremony called in Urdu *muṣḥaf ārsī*. And many folksongs in Bengali and Sindhi tell of the homesickness of the young bride—who was in most cases a mere child—who is now separated from her loving family and lives under the rule of her in-laws.¹⁸

That was certainly not always easy, and the situation of the young wife improved only after she had born a son; usually, at least in the lower classes, husband and wife would address each other then not by their proper names but as 'Father of Ahmad...Mother of 'Alibakhsh...' etc. The reverence shown to the mother was boundless; and it would be worthwhile to study the role of pious mothers in the spiritual formation of their sons who attained fame in later years.

Polygamy was, and to a small extent is, practiced in upperclass families who can afford equal material care for the wives, and also in traditional religious families, some 'saintly' *pirs* even dispensing with the limit of four wives at one time. The women in some traditional families set foot into their husband's house only to leave it for the first and last time on the bier. And still in modern times the Prophetic tradition is widely known:

If it were permissible to prostrate before anyone but God I would say that wives should prostrate themselves before their husbands.¹⁹

Yet, they usually ruled behind the curtain, and power struggle among the wives, and sometimes even the slave girls, of a wealthy or influential husband is an integral part of *purdah* life.

¹⁷ Schimmel, 'Hochzeitslieder', p. 237.

¹⁸ Vreede-de Steurs, *Parda*, p. 25, quotes the young bride's song:

Why dost thou send me away in a foreign land,
Father dear?
I was a bird of thy garden, Father dear;
Now thou casteth me out of the nest, Father dear—
Listen to me, Father dear!

¹⁹ Quoted by Ghazzali, *Iḥyā 'ulūm ad-dīn*, Bulaq 1289h/1872, Vol. II, kitab an-nikah, p. 53; Nasir Muhammad 'Andalib, *Nāla-i 'Andalib*, I 578. According to A. R. Saiyed, 'Purdah, Family Structure and the Status of Women: A Note of a deviant Case', in Imtiaz Ahmad (ed.), *Family, Kinship and Marriage*, p. 245, note 13, this *hadith* was quoted by a social worker in Bombay as pertaining to the general attitude towards marriage.

Purdah is kept particularly in traditional and well-to-do middle class homes; in fact, among groups who where only superficially Islamicized the taking of the veil or the seclusion of women was considered a step towards true Islam, hence a status symbol, at the same time when the educated upper-class girls in the cities took off the veil!

Contrary to the 'free', i.e. respectable, woman who should not even be mentioned outside her part of the house, the numerous courtesans could easily display their talents. They were usually well trained in music and poetry, and rulers like Muhammad Tughluq built special mosques for them in separate quarters of Delhi and Daulatabad, just as Akbar settled them in a suburb called, according to Bada'uni, *Shaifanpura*, 'Satanopolis'.²⁰ For more recent times, Ruswa's novel *Umrāo Jān Adā* gives a sympathetic picture of an accomplished 'daughter of the bazaar' in 19th-century Lucknow.

The conditions of the confined 'free' women in wealthier families in the rural or tribal areas are often deplorable, while the village women on the whole do not keep *purdah* because they have to work in the fields. That gives them also the opportunity of meeting other men, and in a society with strictly enforced marriage customs, runaway or elopement cases happen more frequently than the outsider would expect; these cases form a considerable part of rural jurisdiction as administered by the landlord or the Pir. Basically the punishment for even only suspected faithlessness of a woman is death—in Balochistan the woman caught in or suspected of an illicit affair is mercilessly killed and buried in the wilderness, never to be mentioned again.

Otherwise the death rites follow the normal Islamic tradition with washing, burial, and the recitation of Sura Yasin. A *purdah*-observing woman should be seen even after her death only by the closest relatives and is buried, in some areas, one foot deeper than a man. By burying the dead and not, like the Hindus, cremating them, the Muslims 'took possession of India's earth', as an Indian Muslim once remarked; and in spite of the injunctions for a modest burial the most beautiful buildings in the Subcontinent are the mausoleums of worldly and spiritual rulers.²¹

On the third day after the death, *suyum*, people come to offer condolences, read the Koran and give the merit of this act to the soul of the deceased. In some regions all food is thrown out when a death occurs, and relatives and friends send food for three days; then the normal daily routine begins again.

²⁰ Bada'uni, *Muntakhab*, II, transl. 311, text.

²¹ There are, of course, particular rites and customs connected with the visit of graveyards. Bada'uni, l.c. III transl. 95 text 57, tells: 'If a question from the *Farāz* be recited over a tomb, and a statement of the shares of inheritance be made, all the people lying buried there are, by virtue of that portion of the law, forgiven their sins.'

During the *fatiha* ceremonies of the third and the fortieth days food is distributed to the poor but one imagines that the deceased family member is the real guest. In some areas every Thursday a *fatiha* for the ancestors is held. Although daughters are entitled to a share in the inheritance they were generally made to forego their claims; that remained a custom at least in Sunni circles. Since Shia law of succession is more generous towards daughters, some families who had only female offspring adopted the Shia faith for practical reasons.

The remarriage of widows was largely frowned upon as a result of Hindu influences. In predominantly rural or tribal areas, such as Balochistan, Kashmir, or among the Meos, the levirate is practised if necessary, and modern advocates of polygamy like to cite the instance of levirate marriage to keep the widow and orphans in the family, even though the husband's brother should already be married.

* * *

As every moment of human life is, or was, imbedded in some religious ritual, the Muslims of India participated wholeheartedly in the general festivities of Islam. During the month of Ramadan the fast is strictly kept, and after the evening prayer many pious recite the *tarāwīḥ* prayers (33 *rak'at*). The *lailat ul-qadr*, when the Koran was revealed for the first time (usually said to correspond to 27th Ramadan) was particularly celebrated. People believed that the whole vegetable world was bowing in adoration, and the Sufis hoped to see the heavenly light during this night; therefore recitation of the Koran, as well as the use of frankincense in mosques or homes was not unusual. As for the Mahdawis, the Sunnis accuse them of assembling during that night in their *jamā'atkhānas* to declare, "Imam Mahdi has come and gone, and whoever disbelieves this is an infidel",²¹ so that in olden times riots between Sunnis and Mahdawis often took place during the *lailat ul-qadr*. The last Friday in Ramadan likewise was distinguished by intense worship, and some people used to retire to the mosque during the whole sacred month (*i'tikāf*). The Shia had the additional festival of the Night of 'Ali on the 20th or 21st of Ramadan, when a little tomb would be taken around the houses and food was prepared in 'Ali's name.²²

²¹ Jafar/Herclots, *Islam in India*, p. 208.

²² The Hazrat Ali Day was observed in Pakistan in the course of re-Islamization, as *Dawn International* mentions on Sept. 2, 1978: "In a message on Yom-i Ali... Gen. Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq urged the Muslims of Pakistan to resolve to follow in the footsteps of Hazrat Ali and not to spare any sacrifice for the glory of Islam. The CMLA said the name of Hazrat Ali symbolizes bravery, piety and knowledge and so long as this world remained the relationship between Hazrat

The 'Id ul-fiṭr is celebrated, as elsewhere, after the new moon has been seen—usually from the top of a minaret—by two trustworthy witnesses. That leads sometimes to confusion in Pakistan, while in India the date is now previously established according to scientific methods. The morning prayer, led by the *qāḍī*, was and is performed in the *Idgah*; new clothes are distributed, and special sweets are cooked, among which *sewiyān*, sweet vermicelli, is still a must. The custom of exchanging 'Idī presents is common.

Another central event in Muslim life is the pilgrimage to Mecca in Dhu'l-hijja. It is still a moving sight to watch the pilgrims who take leave from home being garlanded by their families and friends.²⁴ In earlier times the pilgrimage over land or on the very uncertain sea route was most adventurous; after the 16th century the sea route from Gujarat was protected by the British East India Company, and nowadays special air services are arranged for the tens of thousands of pilgrims who go every year from Pakistan to Mecca. Formerly, pilgrimage was often a way to escape a tyrannical ruler or was imposed upon a discredited nobleman in order to get rid of him. As a place for emigration Mecca was sought after during the Middle Ages and gained this status even more during the 19th century, when large parts of Muslim India were under 'infidel' rule. Mecca was always a resort for scholars, and many Indian religious leaders spent a year or two there and in Medina to study *ḥadīth* and *tafsīr*; thus religious reform movements like that of Shah Waliullah, or the expansion of certain mystical doctrines over the eastern parts of the Islamic world, originated in the Holy City. The 'Id ul-adḥa, also called *baqar 'Id*, was duly celebrated; the meat of the sacrificial animals was divided in three portions; one for charity, one for friends, and one for the family; the animal hide was given away, preferably to charitable institutions. The slaughtering of animals, and particularly of cows on the 'Id was one of the main causes for communalist tensions, and not infrequently led to riots.²⁵ On the 18th of Dhu'l-hijja the Shia celebrate the 'Id ul-ghadīr in remembrance of the Prophet's sermon at the Ghadīr Khum, during the last Dhu'l-hijja of his life, in which he designated 'Ali as Commander of the Faithful.

But people enjoyed more than just the two feasts that have Koranic sanction. The popular poetical genre of *bārahmāsa*, poems about the peculiarities

Ali and Islam would also continue to exist and his life would continue to guide the future generations. He said it was the duty of the Islamic World and the Muslims of Pakistan to spread the knowledge about Hazrat Ali.'

²⁴ For the pilgrimage, permission of the family is necessary; Bada'uni, who wanted to perform the pilgrimage, was told by his superior, 'Abdunnabi, to ask his mother who, however, refused to grant her permission, *Muntakhab II*, transl. 258 text.

²⁵ The Moghul rulers usually slaughtered a camel at the Idgah. Cf. the description of the 'Id ul-adḥa in *Dawn Overseas* of Nov. 18, 1978—even a Yak from Chitral was sacrificed in Karachi.

of the twelve months, is often used to point to the various religious aspects of each of the lunar months. And the great traditionist of 17th-century Delhi, ⁶Abdulhaqq, has composed a book which deals with Prophetic traditions concerning each month. First and foremost, the celebrations of Muharram occupied an important place in popular piety and were not restricted in older times to only the Shia but were also commemorated by the Sunnites; sermon meetings were held during the first ten days of Muharram. A special dish (rice and syrup in the Punjab) was cooked even in some Sunni houses on the tenth (*‘ashūrā*) and already Amir Khusrau speaks of devotional books about the *maqtal Husain* which were read during Muharram. In Shia circles special gatherings (*majlis*) were called to remember the events of Husain's coming to Kerbela day by day; they were, however, not held in the mosque but in large *imāmbāras*, which became a special feature of Shia Islam.²⁶ Miniature tombs, called in the Deccan *tābūt*, otherwise *ta‘ziya*, were prepared on a bamboo framework and covered with more or less precious material; they could reach a height of up to twenty feet. The *ta‘ziya* stayed under a canopy till the tenth, and Muharram fires were lighted everywhere; huge standards with crests such as the ‘hand of Fatima’ (which also symbolizes the *panj tan*, i.e. Muhammad, ⁶Ali, Fatima, Hasan and Husain) or other religious symbols were carried; a white horse, representing Duldul, was led around with empty saddle. The popular beating of breasts and backs with chains is now forbidden in some areas. On the tenth the ordinary *ta‘zias* are buried in a place called *Kerbela*, while the expensive ones are renovated. In some cases the mourning went on, as in real death cases, till the fortieth day (10. Safar). Women used to break their glass bangles and wear black clothes—S. H. Manto's short story *Kālī shalwār* tells of a prostitute who desperately needed a black *shalwār* for Muharram.

In some provinces the Muharram procession changed into almost a kind of carnival, and Hindus participated freely in the happenings, be it the buffonery,²⁷ be it the ‘worship’ of the *‘alam*, ‘flag’, by some low castes in Bihar. The tears shed in Muharram were sometimes collected because they were regarded as a cure and a help against the punishment of the tomb. The atmosphere was always highly charged with emotion so that the outbreak of riots was not unusual during the first ten days of Muharram; and, although

²⁶ Good descriptions of Muharram in Jafar/Herclots, *Islam in India*, Mrs. Meer Hasan, *Observations*; and Sharar, *Lucknow*. In 1942, the 1300th anniversary of Husain's martyrdom was celebrated in a large number of Indian cities—‘his idealism, courage and loyalty to truth presented as model’, Hollister, *Shia of India*, p. 64; *Dawn International*, December 1978, celebrated Husain's martyrdom as pointing to the final victory of good over evil.

²⁷ For a picture see S. C. Welch, *Room for Wonder*, New York 1978, Nr. 69.

the Sunnis share the admiration and love of the Prophet's family, the Muslim reformers unceasingly preached against the 'mixture of pageantry with the deeply expressed and public exposure of grief'.²⁸

The next month, Safar, is usually considered to be unlucky. For the Shia the *chihilum*, the forty days' mourning, ends on the tenth of Safar; in some regions no important work was undertaken during the *tērah teẓī*, the first thirteen days, because the Prophet had fallen ill in those days. Therefore many people, for instance in Punjabi villages, would spend much in charity. The last Wednesday in Safar (*ākhrī chārshamba*) is devoted to rejoicing because the Prophet felt better on that day, and some people used to write seven *salām* with saffron or rosewater on a leaf, wash it off and drink the water as a panacea.

Contrary to the custom in most other countries, the 12 Rabi' ul-awwal was originally celebrated in India as *bārah wafāt*, the Prophet's death, and people would spend it in reciting texts concerning Muhammad's excellence. In former days, they would decorate the *qadam-i rasūl*, the Prophet's footprint, which was kept in a box, or the effigy of Buraq, the mount that carried the Prophet during his ascension. As time passed, however, the day was interpreted as the Prophet's birthday as was the case in other countries from the Middle Ages; thus the whole month of Rabi' al-awwal gained a joyful aspect. Shayesta Ikramullah has well described the *maulid* celebrations as they were customary in the homes of upper-class Bengalis: with incense burning and attar of roses sprinkled over the ladies, who found also many other opportunities to hold a *mīlād* gathering at any auspicious occasion.²⁹ People would cook milk rice or other food in the name of the Prophet, to distribute it to the poor; and nowadays in Pakistan many meetings are held during Rabi' al-awwal in which the Prophet is extolled to the faithful as a model.

One month later, on 11 Rabi' ath-thāni, those who are connected with the Qadiriyya order celebrate the memorial of 'Abdulqadir Gilani, the *ptr-i dastgīr*, *Mīrānī*, or *maḥbūb-i subḥānī* who, as tradition says, had ninety-nine names. In Sindhi folk tradition the whole month is often called *yārhtān*, 'eleven' because it is sanctified by this memorial day. Although the order was introduced in the Subcontinent later than the Chishtiyya and Suhrawardiyya, 'Abdulqadir's veneration is most intense: in Ludhiana 'his toothpick is said to have taken root' and to have grown into a tree near which an annual fair is held;³⁰ in Srinagar, a memorial shrine for him exists, and numerous big trees

²⁸ Mrs. Meer Hasan Ali, *Observations* I 54.

²⁹ Shayesteh Ikramullah, *From Purdah to Parliament*, London 1964, p. 25.

³⁰ T. W. Arnold, 'Saints, Muhammadan, in India', *ERE* XI p. 69. In the Junaidi *dargāh* in

in Sind are devoted to his name. In some cases people took out a large green flag with the impression of an outstretched hand made with sandalwood paste; or they put little flags and eleven lamps on the house to secure it from misfortune in times of plague; the large flag or a cenotaph of green paper might also be perambulated. Much popular poetry has been written in the regional languages in 'Abdulqadir's honour; in fact the first known *madāh*, 'praise poem', in Sindi, is directed to *Pir Pīrān Bādshāh*, and its author, Jaman Charan (d. 1738), enumerates a long list of places where the power of the saint is operative.³¹ And a Balochi-tale about the Prophet's ascension to heaven explains why the *Pir-i dastgīr* had claimed, 'My foot is on the neck of every saint': When Gabriel had to leave the Prophet alone before entering into God's presence, 'Abdulqadir offered his shoulder so that Muhammad could step on it and reach the Highest Presence, and he blessed the saint by putting every saint's neck under his feet.³²—It seems that the importance of the eleventh day is reflected in the Panjabi custom of distributing charity on the eleventh of every month.³³

In Rajab people often would give the *zakāt*, the alms tax, for 'by giving it properly man's property becomes pure (*pāk*)'. Some of the pious and learned would observe the *shab-i mi'rāj*, the night of Muhammad's ascension to heaven; but that was not common among the masses. Some people would offer rice in the name of Jalal Surkh Bukhari on every Thursday in Rajab.

Much more important than these festivals in the popular calendar was *shab-i barāt*, mid-Sha'ban, when the lives and fortunes of the mortals for the coming year are registered in Heaven. The Shia remember Imam Mahdi's birthday on this date. The *shab-i barāt* is mentioned in an inscription in Kathiawar in the 12th century as in Amir Khusrau's *Khazā'in al-futūh*; it was celebrated with much merrymaking. Among the pious, the Koran was recited, and the *durūd*, blessings over the Prophet, were repeated during this night. Some people would keep a vigil and cook food in the name of deceased relatives to send it to friends. During the night itself—being a full moon—people would light fireworks; in some places they would make little figures of elephants or horses, light wicks in them, put fruit and food in front of them, and recite the *fatīha* in the name of the Prophet or, among Shiites, of 'Ali and Fatima over them. Firecrackers and illumination were disliked by orthodox theologians

Gulbarga, a tree that grew out of Gesudarāz's toothpick, *miswāq*, overshadows the courtyard, and the pious visitor is given a twig for the sake of blessing.

³¹ A. Schimmel, 'Neue Veröffentlichungen zur Volkskunde von Sind', *WI*, NS IX 1-4, p. 240 ff.

³² M. Longworth Dames, *Popular Poetry of the Baloches*, London 1970, p. 134 ff.

³³ Eglar, *Punjabi Village*, p. 69.

since they were reminiscent of the *diwali* celebrations of the Hindus, and the custom prevailing among the Meo in the neighbourhood of Delhi to 'worship' the flagstaff of Salar Mas'ud during this night was of course viewed with abhorrence by the orthodox. (A veneration of poles, *chharti*, or flagstaffs, *jhandā*, was quite common all over the country).

The month of Dhu'l-qa'da was considered unlucky in some communities; no marriages were celebrated at that time, while in Shia circles this and the following month were generally the time for marriages since in Muharram wedding celebrations would be improper.

In the upper classes, especially among the Moghuls, the Persian New Year (*naurūz*) was popular.

Tradition was strong in every detail of life: one believed in lucky and unlucky days. Wednesday was often regarded as inauspicious so that pious people visited tombs of saints every Wednesday to dispel possible evil influences. There were, of course, many other ways to avert evil: the proper recitation of the Divine Names according to their numerical value and their meaning is part of the Sufi heritage, and the most elaborate discussion of this aspect of Islam is found in Muhammad Ghauth Gwaliori's *Jawāhir-i khamṣa*, a book to which Jafar Sharif refers several times in his discussion of magical and mystical practices. Other, less complicated collections of relevant rules were widely used.

As in other Islamic countries, great importance was ascribed to dreams, which could determine man's decisions to a large extent¹⁴; they could warn him against impending danger, guide him to a saint, living or dead, solve juridical problems, or interfere with political decisions. For the firm belief in dreams can be supported by Prophetic traditions, and their interpretation was one of the duties of the spiritual preceptors, who would understand from their disciples or visitors' dreams the stage they had reached in their pilgrimage toward God.

To take omen from the Koran, from Rumi's *Mathnawī*, or most frequently from the *Diwan* of Hafiz (as Humayun did in 1554 before his return to India) was common practice.

Special precautions had to be taken when travelling: one might tie a copper coin and a metal ring in a cloth, which is worn at the right upper arm, called *imām zāmin kā rupiā*, 'the rupee for the protecting Imam'; after the happy arrival it was taken off, a *fātiḥa* recited and sweets distributed. Sweets were

¹⁴ Tunku Abdul Rahman of Malaya travelled to Ajmer because he was urged by a dream (*Times of India*, Bombay Oct. 9, 1962, quoted in E. G. von Grunebaum, 'Dream in Classical Islam', in *Abid Husain Presentation Volume*, Delhi 1974, p. 54).

quite often used as a viaticum; the most important one being that prepared in the name of 'Abdulhaqq of Rudauli, the Chishti-Sabiri saint of the 15th century; but the widely travelled Bu 'Ali Qalandar and the Bihari saint Sharafuddin Maneri were also among those to whom one vowed sweets before a journey.³⁵ Besides, it was common to prepare food over which the name of God, a saint or the Prophet was spoken along with *fātiḥa* and then distributed to friends or as alms; that was usually done in connection with a vow. Some days were singled out for food in the name of particular saints. Shiites might do the same in the name of 'Abbas 'Ali or Ja'far as-sadiq, and one knew even a sanctification in the names of the *aṣḥāb al-kahf*, the Seven Sleepers, with a special plate for the faithful dog (Sura 18/17) aside.³⁶ If a wish was fulfilled, one would lit candles or, in some regions, set afloat small boats.

Should a child be ailing one would blow over it, or blow over a glass of water after the *maghrib* prayer in the mosque, as is known from Iran and Turkey as well. After recovering from an ailment a ceremonial bath was usually taken, at least by upper-class people, a custom that induced many poets to write congratulatory poems or chronograms for the 'bath of health' of their respective patrons.

Daily life was enriched by *maulūd*, or *maulid*, gatherings.³⁷ *Maulūd* are poems which deal with any aspect of the Prophet's life, not only with his birth, as the name indicates, and which were recited in various styles by one or several singers. Aside from the performance on the Prophet's birthday they were sung on Fridays, on the *shab-i barāt*, during Ramadan nights, etc., and in some regions became part and parcel of every important event, from circumcisions to weddings and funeral services. How widespread this form was can be understood from the fact that a *Sīra purānam*, a poem dealing with the Prophet's life, by the 18th-century poet Omar Pulavar belongs to the finest products of Muslim Tamil literature;³⁸ at the same time a special form of Sindhi *maulūd* was developed to be used in *samā'*-sessions. In ladies' gatherings, women would recite *maulūd*, and there are instances when an outstanding woman was allowed—though grudgingly!—to sing even in an assembly of men. Thus the children grew up in an atmosphere where rhymed stories about Muhammad and his family were repeated at every occasion; the tenderhearted 'grandfather Prophet' who played with his ill-starred grandsons Hasan and Husain was as present in these songs (in Sindhi called *munāqibā*) as was 'Ali,

³⁵ Jafar/Herclots, *Islam in India*, p. 255 ff.

³⁶ Id., p. 137 ff.

³⁷ Schimmel, 'Neue Veröffentlichungen', p. 251.

³⁸ Kokan, *Arabic and Persian in Carnatic*, p. 59 ff. The poet wrote about 1730.

the hero of early Islam; even lullabies alluded in simple words to the wonderful stories of the beloved Prophet, and more than one poet promised the pious that a regular recitation of his *na'at*, praise poem, at certain days would definitely lead them to a vision of the Prophet. The recitation of al-Busiri's *Qasida-i Burda* in praise of Muhammad, during which various blessings for him are invoked, is still common in the Deccan.

How deeply this religious atmosphere affected all levels of the population is understood from the innumerable riddles which, from complicated Persian verse-riddles to conundrums in the regional languages, presupposed an amazing knowledge of Islamic realia, combined with wit and intelligence. To solve them was one of the favourite pastimes of both princes and illiterate villagers.

For the Shia, the *majlis* in commemoration of Husain's martyrdom was more important than the *maulid*, and various professions developed to give the gatherings a lasting effect—the reciters of *hadith* told movingly about Kerbela; the *wāqi'a-khwāns* narrated anecdotes, and eloquent *marthiya-khwāns* recited long poems about the death and suffering of the Imams, while *sozkhwāns*, groups of three accomplished musicians, sang in heart-rending tunes about the tragedy of Kerbela—a custom not favoured by the orthodox theologians.

And as a child's first completion of the Koran was a reason for celebration, thus a scholar might invite his friends, on each occasion on which he completed the perusal of the *Ṣaḥīḥain* or the *Mishkāt*, regaling his guests with sweetmeats and other delicacies.³⁹

Stories of Islamic origin were told and retold—the impressive pictures painted under Akbar for the tellers of the *Hamzanāma*, the story of the Prophet's heroic uncle, show how popular these tales were in all strata of society. And not only Hamza, but also Muhammad ibn al-Hanafiyya, a son of 'Ali by a wife other than Fatima (according to Ibn Khallikān 'a blackish slave-girl from Sind'), who plays a prominent role in early Islamic sectarian discussions, became the hero of stories that were told in Urdu and the regional languages of Indo-Pakistan. Even more surprising is the fact that the Arabic tale of Tamim-i Dari reached India rather early and formed an important part of the folk tradition: Tamim's adventures in fairyland and among all kinds of djinns and fairies were popular not only in 16th century Golkonda but also among the Muslims in Tamilnad⁴⁰ (Tamim's tomb is shown in Mylapur south of Madras); they were retold in Multani verse as well. Such stories do not belong

³⁹ Thus Bada'uni, *Muntakhab III*, transl. 215, text 154. The *khatm al-Bukhārī* was celebrated, in late Mamluk Egypt, during Ramadan with a big reception in the Citadel.

⁴⁰ David Shulman, *Muslim Popular Literature in Tamil, The Tamimcārī mālai* (Paper at the Conference on Islam in India, Jerusalem 1977).

exclusively to the higher layers of Indo-Muslim culture; on the contrary, in the villages singers would come to sing long tales about the heroes of past glorious ages (parallel to the Hindu bards who recited scenes from the *Mahābhārata* and other religio-legendary texts). There were other bards who in their ballads informed the villagers of the great events in the country, of a new mosque in Larkana or Sonargaon, of an earthquake, of dacoity in a near-by forest or of a sumptuous wedding in a landlord's family.⁴¹ And last but not least, the religious singers—be they *bhakta* in the Hindu tradition or wandering Sufis in the Islamic environment—assured the villagers that religion after all was a matter of heart and life and told them the mysteries of faith and love in images taken from their daily life, acting, as Percival Spear says poignantly, as 'the Evangelicals of the Indian countryside.'⁴²

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The visitor to India and Pakistan is always amazed when he discovers the innumerable shrines, saints' tombs, and places of pilgrimage, and some authors have rightly remarked that there seems to exist a certain mystical relation between the people and the saints. Folk poetry helped to infuse the stories of the saints and their miracles into the lowest layers of life, so that the great spiritual heroes of Islam—like 'Mansur' Hallaj or Maulana Rumi—are, so to speak, ever-present. Typical is the story of Diwan Gidumal, the Hindu minister of the Kalhora, who offered the invading Ahmad Shah Abdali (1749) a little bag which, as he said, 'contains the most precious thing Sind has to offer: dust from the tombs of *sayyids* and saints'.

Quite a few places in the Subcontinent can boast of relics, such as a hair from the Prophet's beard; one such hair is in Delhi next to the Great Mosque, one in Bijapur, and again another one (acquired in 1545) in Rohri (Sind) where it is exposed in a beautiful gold case set with rubies and emeralds in the month of March. Even more important is the *qadam-i rasūl*, the Prophet's footprint in stone, examples of which pious pilgrims brought from Mecca or Medina and around which remarkable architectural structures were built; the *qadam rasūl* mosques in Bengal bear witness of this veneration. One may see here a typical Indian relic, for to touch the foot is an act of humility, and long before Islam India had known the Buddha's footprint and the 'feet of Vishnu'.⁴³—The Qadiri *dargāh* in Uch preserves a hair of the Prophet along with 'Abdulqadir's turban and other relics; in Lucknow the horseshoe of Hu-

⁴¹ Good examples from Sind in Dr. N. A. Baloch (ed.), *Wāqī 'att Baita*, Hyderabad/Sind 1961.

⁴² Percival Spear, *Twilight of the Mughals*, Cambridge, 1951, p. 133.

⁴³ A fine reproduction of the 'Feet of Vishnu' with explanation by Mark Zebrowski in S. C. Welch, *A Flower from every Meadow* Nr. 11.

sain's horse, which was lost in the battle of Kerbela, is preserved, while in Chunar the gowns of Hasan and Husain were shown. On several spots the Prophet or his grandsons are supposed to have appeared to the faithful, thus in the *jilwagāh-i imāmain* on Makli Hill (Sind) about which Mir 'Ali Shir Qanī⁴ sings:

It is a Paradise on earth, full of hope,
It is the visiting-place of the men of God.
It is not a star that shines in that place—
An angel's eye was opened for the sake of looking...
You do not see on its sky the new moon—
Rather, it is the eyebrow on the eyes of angels..."

Indo-Muslim hagiography comprises every imaginable tract that is known from saints' legends all over the world; if it is even more colourful than religious tales in general it is due to Hindu influence.

The presence of a saint or *sayyid* is considered to be most important for a prosperous life, and already Nizamuddin Auliya's mother sent her son to the graves of martyred saints to pray for her recovery. The crudest expression of this deep belief in the necessity of a saint's blessing is found in the story told in the Census of India of 1911:

The Afridi Pathans of Tirah had shame in the sight of their brethren that their territory was blessed with no holy shrine at which they might worship and that they had to be beholden to the saints of the neighbourhood when they wished for Divine aid. Smarting under a sense of incompleteness they induced by generous offers a saint of the most notorious piety to take up his abode amongst them. Then they made quite sure of his staying with them by cutting his throat; they buried him honourably; they built over his bones a splendid shrine at which they might worship him and implore his aid and intercession in their behalf, and thus they purged themselves of their reproach."

The tombs of saints, even more than the mosques, reflect the character of both the builder and the saint; the small tomb of Salim Chishti in Fatehpur Sikri resembles a beautiful white pearl in the vast landscape of red sandstone buildings; and the windows of Muhammad Ghauth Gwaliori's grey marble tomb seem to translate into visible forms the constellations of the stars which he knew so well. Ruknuddin's tomb in Multan belongs to the most impressive constructions of Indian architects, its colossal body being here and there adorned with blue and white tiles. The radiant blue tiles of the tombs of the Suhrawardi and Qadiri saints in Uch are now slowly crumbling so that the place, once a centre of religious and scholarly activities, is left almost ruined. The Pathan saint and poet Rahman Baba rests in a modest little enclosure in the shady cemetery south of Peshawar, while Shah Abdullatif's mausoleum in

⁴ Mir 'Ali Shir Qanī, *Maklīnāma*, ed. Sayyid Hussamuddin Rashdi, 2nd ed. Hyderabad 1967, p. 11.

⁵ *Census of India*, Punjab, Vol. XIV, quot. by Arnold, *ERE* XI 72.

Bhit Shah (Sind) is as graceful as the mystic's poetry: columns covered with blue and white tiles seem to grow from large blue and white tulip calices, and fine woodwork with lines of colourful tiles between, forms the ceiling of the sanctuary. In its courtyard many devotees of the saint are buried, as is the rule in many mausoleums: the delicate marble pavillion that houses Nizamuddin Auliya's tomb in Delhi is surrounded by the graves of his admirers, such as his friend, the poet Amir Khusrau, the historian Barani, the mystically-minded princess Jahanara, and the last classical poet of Urdu, Mirza Ghalib, who rests at a little distance. Often only a couple of coloured, preferably red, flags point to the place where a saint or *sayyid* is buried, or small heaps of stones indicate a burial place which may grow in the course of time into a veritable place of worship; sometimes gaudy tilework surprises the visitor in the middle of the bleak desert (thus in Jhok, Sind). The radiant green dome over the modern sanctuary of Warith 'Ali Shah in Dewa Sharif (UP), where the visitor can sleep in the modest dervish cells, contrasts with the monumental buildings of Gulbarga or the vast cemetery of Makli Hill near Thatta, the old capital of Sind, where according to popular belief 125,000 saints are buried. Mir 'Ali Shir Qani's *Maklīnāma*, written in 1778, gives a lively picture of this place:

Rarely had the friends of God a meeting-place like this, and never did the mystically poor enjoy a similar resting-place. Every night there equals the Night of Might in glory, and every day there is like a day of the Feast... The dust of this hill is the antimony for the eyes of those endowed with insight, and the ground of this hill is the seedbed of the grain of mysteries.⁴⁰

On the first Friday of every month huge crowds would assemble there, and 'nobody has ever seen the inhabitants of this place sad or worried; they are satisfied whether it be much or little, and enjoy life and pleasure'.⁴¹ For they were so fond of music and mystical dance that one of the Sindhi mystics could claim that '*samā*' is the ascension to heaven of the saints'.⁴²

Musical sessions are held in several *khānqāhs* on Thursday nights. The enraptured dance of the *malangs* in Sehwan still goes on as does the sweet music at Bhit Shah. Near many Chishti tombs, such as Nizamuddin in Delhi, musicians are permanently involved in singing or playing religious songs, and during a journey in the United Provinces in 1975 we had no difficulty in finding some *qawwālī* groups who enjoyed singing for us the traditional hymns in praise of God and the Prophet or of the saint in whose *khānqāh* we were sitting. In other places, like Pakpattan, music has lately been prohibited, and the

⁴⁰ Qani', *Maklīnāma*, p. 11.

⁴¹ *Tārkh-i Tahīrī*, quoted after A. Schimmel, *Pakistan, ein Schloss mit tausend Toren*, Zürich 1965, p. 106.

⁴² Bedil Rohrivaro, *Dirwān*, ed. Abdul Husain Musawi, Karachi 1954, p. 297.

old porch where the musicians used to sit is converted into a place for the recitation of the Koran—one of the numerous attempts to purge saints' tombs from 'un-Islamic' accretions.

Some sanctuaries have strange aspects: the visitor to Karachi knows the pond of Mangho Pir, where crocodiles are fed by the people. The number of these animals is now diminishing; during the last century some young Englishmen were still able to walk on their backs from one end of the pond to the other. All the crocodiles, headed by *Mor Şahib*, 'Mr. Peacock', are descendants of the alligator that was produced when an angry saint of the 13th century cast a flower into the pond and cursed it. Real peacocks gather in the courtyard of a small sanctuary in Kallakahar (Salt Range) dedicated to two of 'Abdulqadir Gilani's grandsons who were slain here by the Hindus in 566/1170-1, as the inscription claims.—Near the tomb of Jalaluddin in Sylhet beautiful fish are kept; most repelling, however, is a pond in Chittagong (Bangla Desh), which is dedicated to the memory of Bayezid Bistami, the great Persian mystic of the 9th century. Here, big whitish softshell turtles swim in the greenish water and are fed by the pious who wash their babies and their rice in the same water. However, to tie a piece of cloth at Bayezid's sanctuary is considered to be very effective.

At some shrines, particularly those of the Qadiriyya, women are not allowed inside but have to stay on the threshold. In most places, however, they may enter and touch the railing around the tomb to invoke the blessings of the saint by reciting a *fātiha* and then mentioning their special wish. The Western female visitor to Data Ganj Bakhsh in Lahore is now decently wrapped into a long skirt to cover her legs. There are also shrines of women saints where men are not admitted; I remember Bibi Pakdaman in Multan who is buried in a simple little building; the female keepers of her tomb were not less greedy than the beggars at other saints' tombs. Female saints are found mainly in the Sind-Balochistan area and in the Punjab; some are supposed to have been swallowed by the earth when persecuted (thus the *Pakdāmānān* in Lahore, the *Haft 'Afla* in Thatta, or Bibi Nahzan in Kalat); they appear, as the names tell, often in groups of seven. Other woman saints have miraculous powers like Mai Sapuran who could cure the bites of mad dogs.

A visit to a tomb, *mazār*, is called *ziyārat*, a word that came also to denote the place itself. People will recite a *fātiha* and sometimes the last three *sūras* before making a personal request. One often ties pieces of cloth at the window lattice or on a nearby tree to remind the saint of one's wish, as is done in other countries as well. Some visitors will not only touch the railing around the tomb but kiss it, or kiss the threshold. To sweep a saint's tomb is a meritorious act, often performed in fulfilling a vow. It is also customary to strew a handful of

rose petals or some chains of flowers or nosegays over the coffin (the major shrines are surrounded by vendors of these items), and an honoured guest of the *sajjādanishīn* may be granted some of the dried-up flowers to swallow them for the sake of blessing. One can also offer silken or satin covers, or pieces of cloth which are put over the coffin and then, after some time, taken away to be presented to some high-ranking visitor—the green, silver-embroidered covers exude a sweet fragrance. Smaller pieces of cloth that have been in touch with the tomb are often given to girls for their trousseaux to secure the saint's blessings. The visitor may also receive some sweetmeat; many *khānqāhs* have special dishes for which they are famous. One can light candles at the tombs, preferably on Thursdays, and a poet may praise his saint claiming that he is so powerful that

Gabriel is a moth for the candle of his tomb!⁹⁹

To Salar Mas'ud a flag is offered; some saints prefer white roosters or goats. In famous places valuable silver doors, railings or crystal lamps have been received as offering from kings and grandees, Indian and non-Indian. Korans, too, were often dedicated to a saint; Bada'uni presented the shrine of his master with a fine copy which he himself had written, hoping to remove by his offering 'the infidelity of former books' which he had translated from the Sanskrit.¹⁰⁰

The shrines are visited in case of need, or just for a moment of spiritual intimacy with the deceased saint who is supposed to be always alive and active. In India, Mu'inuddin Chishti's mausoleum in Ajmer is an outstanding example of this veneration. Muhammad Tughluq and Sher Shah Suri were among its visitors; Akbar went several times on foot to Ajmer, while his son Jahangir wrote about the *'urs*, the memorial celebrations:

I gave to *faqīrs* and attendants money with my own hands, altogether there were 6,000 rupees in cash, hundred robes, seventy rosaries of pearl, coral and amber, etc.¹⁰¹

He also dedicated one of the huge cauldrons to the sanctuary where he had been born. Dara Shikoh was in Ajmer, and his brother Aurangzeb followed him, shortly after having gained victory of Dara. Inscriptions at the dome praise the saint with enthusiastic words:

O you whose door is the prayer-direction of those who have attained certainty;
On whose door sun and moon rub their foreheads!
All the servants at your door are *Ridwān* [the doorkeeper of Paradise],
For your resting place is equal in purity to the highest Paradise...¹⁰²

⁹⁹ Qanī', *Maklūnāma* p. 26.

¹⁰⁰ Bada'uni, *Muntakhab III*, transl. 408, text 394, in the year 1002 h/1593-4.

¹⁰¹ *Tuzuk-i jahāngīrī*, transl. Rogers and H. Beveridge, p. 256, s.a. id. p. 269 f. His granddaughter Jahanara, too, visited Ajmer after recovering from her burns.

¹⁰² S. A. J. Tirmizi, *Ajmer through Inscriptions*, Delhi 1968, p. 30.

That was written in 1579, and nearly a century later another pious donor described in his verse

The wall of the resting-place of the Falcon whose sitting-place is the Divine Throne,
And under whose wings lies the egg of Muslimdom...¹¹

To offer something at Hazrat Mu'innuddin's tomb, or to have it repaired, embellished or enlarged could form the contents of a vow in times of dangers or ailment, and pilgrimages, even under difficult conditions (such as measuring the way with one's body), were vowed not only by Muslims but also by Hindus. Even after partition a special train brings pilgrims from Pakistan on the otherwise closed railway line Hyderabad-Ajmer-Bombay so that they can attend the *'urs*, which is celebrated on Rajab, 6. Some shrines are noted for special powers: the dust of Burhanuddin Mahmud's tomb is given to children for intellectual enlightenment, and every Thursday evening the schoolmaster of Thatta would bring his pupils to the tomb of Qazi 'Abdullah on Makli Hill so that their intelligence might wax stronger. About the tomb of Shah Piryan in the same area it is said:

There goes a person who has got a passion—
It is a nice Kerbela for one who is martyred through love.¹²

Sher Shah of Multan is also a protector of persecuted lovers.—In coastal or river areas one needs saints to look after the fishermen and seafaring people; thus Baha'uddin Zakariya Multani is supposed to protect the boatsmen on the Indus and Chenab.

The woodcutters in the Sunderbans, Bengal, were devoted to Mubarak Ghazi whose *faqirs* lived in the villages and marked the borders inside which wood could be cut. Boatsmen and woodcutters, Hindus and Muslims, used to offer him some rice and bananas before entering the jungle where the saint was supposed to ride a tiger.

Many shrines are visited by childless women, for instance Salim Chishti in Fatehpur Sikri. Some are good for healing barren cows; others for cough or for leprosy (Shah Sufaid in Jhelum district); dust from the shrine of Pir Bukhari in Quetta is good for venereal diseases. The oilmen in Lahore had Hasan Teli, the blacksmiths Shah Musa as their specific protector. The small old sanctuary of Shah Mina (d. 1470) in Lucknow was mainly visited by litigants, and quite a few places are connected with the cure of mental diseases. Makhdum Faqih (14th century) who is buried in Bombay close to the sea-shore, was specialized in hysterical patients, and Ahmad Qattal (d. 1631) from among the Ucch saints was called upon in the first spring month (Cheth,

¹¹ Id. p. 53.

¹² Qanî, *Maklināma*, p. 21, 34.

March-April) to drive out evil spirits from women. In Muradabad a similar saint—a former muezzin of the Great Mosque—is visited mainly by Hindus who suffer from mental illness. The most famous of these places is probably Kicchaucca east of Faizabad, Ashraf Jahangir Simnani's *khānqāh* in a djinn-infested forest; here, mentally deranged people gather; women downstairs, men upstairs in the actual sanctuary; they are sometimes quite cruelly treated and can be watched beating their heads against the walls and the floors so that the visitor feels he is in a truly haunted place.

Another strange sanctuary was devoted to the Suhrawardi saint Shah Daula (d. 1676) in Gujrat (Punjab) who had the power to give disobedient parents 'rat-like', i.e. microcephalic, children, who then may serve at the shrine and are called his 'rats'.⁵⁵

But not only Sufi saints are implored for help. In Shia circles the faithful revert to the hidden *mahdī*, as Mrs. Meer Hasan Ali tells:

People who have a particular object in view which they cannot attain by any human stratagem or contrivance, write petitions to imam *mahdī* on Fridays and... commit them to water with much reverence; that is repeated every succeeding Friday.⁵⁶

The saints, living or dead, are credited with numerous miracles besides those experienced by faithful visitors at their tombs. Some of these miracles are in reality only overstressed acts of piety, such as extraordinary long periods of fasting, or the *chilla ma'kūsa*, to hang oneself by the feet to recite prayers and invocations—a feat that is still today sometimes performed by dervishes who may use the hatrack of a Pakistani train to hang from. To sit in the midst of summer in front of a fire while meditating (an act that produces heat in itself) is a form of asceticism inherited from Yogi practices. A miracle that is frequently attested not only in India is that old, weak, or bedridden saints gained the strength to perform their ritual prayers regularly, as soon as the *adhān* was heard, or that they were able to participate in the whirling mystical dance. The longevity of the Sufis which is attested in these stories is, in itself, almost a miracle.

A saint might reach the state of ecstasy during his ablutions for prayer, and a miracle which I have not found anywhere outside India is that some saints (in Sind, the Punjab, and South India) were seen during the *dhikr* when their limbs got separated from their body, each limb performing its own *dhikr*.⁵⁷

⁵⁵ John A. Subhan, *Sufism*, p. 256. D. Ross, *The Land of the Five Rivers and Sind*, London 1883, thinks that the deformation is caused by the parents to make the children successful beggars.

⁵⁶ Mrs. Meer Hasan Ali, *Observations*, I 136.

⁵⁷ For examples see A. Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam*, Chapel Hill 1975, p. 173 note 72.

Many miracles are connected with the propagation of Islam—was not Mu‘inuddin Chishti told by the Prophet himself to go to India? The numerous tombs of *shahids* (martyrs), and the stories of their fight against Hindus, robbers, or demons, give witness of the heroic role of some Indian saints in olden times.—Conversions happened in various ways—a single glance of the saint, or a look at his radiant face might suffice to bring about a change in faith. And what of the Hindu physician in 14th century Sind who was converted by merely looking at a saint’s vial? Pir Badr (d. 1440 in Bihar) whose great-grandfather was a disciple of Jalal Bukhari, kept his *chilla* in Chittagong where he reached ‘floating on a rock’ and converted many Hindu sailors, while in the Salt Range several saints produced sweet water and thus attracted the Hindu population.

Often the formula is used: “Whatever he would say, it would definitely happen!”; for saints could bring events from the *‘alam al-mithal* into this world; hence they could cure the sick and make the deaf hear by whispering the profession of faith or the call to prayer into their ears. Many well-known folk motifs are applied to them, such as granting three sons to a hundred-year-old couple and taking them away when the couple proved ungrateful. *Wanderlegenden* known from other parts of the Muslim world are frequently found; that is especially true for legends connected with animals although here the Hindu and Buddhist heritage is also preserved. We sympathize with the Sindhi saint who was distressed that the frogs fled from him to return only after he had repented from a minor fault, or with the South Indian saint whose tame lion lived peacefully together with another Sufi’s gazelle. The feeling of unity with the whole nature led some Sufis, like Hamiduddin Nagori, to vegetarianism; but this trend is found in early Western Sufi history too. Among the animals cats play a special role, although the story of the blessed cat in Ashraf Jahangir’s *khānqāh*, who could discern between faithful and infidels, and sacrificed her life for the Sufi community, is also found in earlier Persian sources.⁵⁸ But quite a few Indian Sufis are shown in miniature portraits with a peaceful looking cat beside them. As much as common people relied upon miracles, many a pious person would agree with the Sindhi Pir Murad (ca. 1500), who, after witnessing a Brahman revive a dead mouse to show his power, remarked, ‘It is an innovation (*bid‘a*) to revive a dead body, but it is the *sunna* of the masters to revive the hearts!’⁵⁹

As often as people visit shrines in general to partake of the saint’s spiritual blessing, yet the most important event during the year is the *‘urs*, ‘wedding’,

⁵⁸ Id., p. 210 f. after Digby, *Encounters with Jogis*.

⁵⁹ A‘zam Tattawi, *Tuḥfat al-tāhirin*, ed. B. A. Durrani, Karachi 1956, p. 141; s.a. H. T. Sorley, *Shah Abdul Latif of Bhit* Oxford 1940, p. 248 for a different version of this saying.

i.e., the anniversary of the saint's death, the day when his soul was united with the Divine Beloved. Tens of thousands assemble at the big shrines and in some cases the celebrations are truly international.⁴⁰ At certain places, special rites add to the general blessings obtained by the visit; thus, during the 'urs in Pakpattan the pilgrim had to squeeze under the narrow *bihishtī darwāza*, the 'Door of Paradise' to enter the sanctuary; that secures his future entrance to Paradise. Of course, the result was an incredible thronging of people; therefore lately people have to queue up in front of the small door, which makes the rite less exhausting, but also less powerful. At the 'urs of Qadirwali Sahib in Tanjore (9. Jumada al-akhira) pots with milk rice were smashed on the sea shore, and people rushed to get a drop of the liquid. In many places a regular fair, *mēla*, is held during the 'urs, where not only sellers of flowers, garlands and souvenirs (cheap rosaries, glass bangles, etc.) as well as photographers gather but also less reputable events take place. Thus, the 'urs in Sehwan was noted for its wild and partly immoral atmosphere (after all, pre-Islamic traditions connected with the Shiva *linga* remained alive under the surface). Some shrines keep regular dancing girls (Loh Langar Shah in Bangalore); Nurpur, in the city limits of Islamabad, was a favourite gathering place of prostitutes and transvestites, and so was Shaikh Saddu in Bengal; even the 'urs of Mian Mir in Lahore was 'attended by women of ill-fame'.⁴¹ As for Nurpur, it is connected with Bahlul Shah, the disciple of Shah Latif Barri who is credited with strange miracles and belongs to the Qadiriyya through the saint Hayat an-Nur, supposedly still alive in his tomb near Balakot. Nurpur, like Sehwan, is a good example for the continuous use of sacred places in subsequent religious traditions: it had been a fire-temple in pre-Christian times, and a small flame still burns under a curved roof; during the Gandhara period it was a Buddhist place of worship, and finally it was Islamicized. The celebrations in this sanctuary, 'where frenzy and ecstasy are not unknown', have lately been purged; still the atmosphere strikes the casual visitor as quite heavily charged with emotion.

Such a continuation of cults is typical not only for Indo-Pakistani Islam; rather, it is found almost everywhere. However, in India the participation of members of the two great religions in the same places of worship is more conspicuous than elsewhere. Especially in the eastern and western border zones of

⁴⁰ Nowadays invitations for the 'urs of a saint are announced in newspapers, see *Morning News*, Karachi, Nov. 20, 1978: 'Urs Mubarak of Hazrat Abdullah Shah Ghazi (Rehmatullah elaih) will be celebrated at Clifton Karachi (Hawa-Bunder) from Nov. 22nd to 24th 1978. Reputed Qawwal Haji Ghulam Farid Sabri and other leading qawwals will participate. All are cordially invited to attend in large numbers and be blessed. *Space donated by* Rusi S. Patel.'

⁴¹ Subhan, *Sufism*, p. 285 ff.

the Subcontinent such a blending of religious forms seems to be not unusual; Sind has a number of Muslim shrines which Hindus used to visit;⁶² the very fact that the first, and some of the best, studies in Sindhi about Sufism in the Indus valley haven been written by Hindus shows the cultural cross relations as much as the adherence of Hindus to Muslim *pirs*. In Sind, Shaikh Tahir of the Muslims is the Udero Lal of the Hindus; the interior of his small shrine (with a microcephalic servant) had lately been painted with landscapes, such as imaginary Matterhorns and Dutch windmills (similar to some of the dervish cells in Sehwan). Pictorial decoration of tombs is, incidentally, not rare in Sind; a related phenomenon is the paintings in the big *imāmbāra* in Dacca. Ali's white mule *Duldul*, whether naturalistic or made of calligraphy, is always a favourite topic.

An interesting mixture of legends has risen around Shamsuddin Tabrizi, whose tomb, charmingly decorated with cypress motifs in blue and white tiles, is shown in Multan. Although this Shams was the Isma'ili missionary of the 14th century, his name is connected by tradition with the mystical beloved of Jalaluddin Rumi who, as legend has it, went to India and was flayed alive by the mullas. His martyrdom—a true martyr of love!—is often mentioned and praised in Sindhi and Panjabi folk poetry, and even the excessive heat of Multan is ascribed to his asking the sun to come down and broil a piece of meat for him which the stubborn inhabitants of the city refused to do. The most famous saint in this category is probably Ghazi Mian or Salar Mas'ud, whose tomb is in Bahraich, UP.⁶³ According to Barani, he was a nephew of Mahmud of Ghazna, started military operations when he was sixteen, and was killed in 1033 at the age of nineteen. The site of his tomb is said to have been a temple of the Sun. His tomb was looked after by the Muslims that lived in this area even before the Ghorid conquest; a proper mausoleum was erected by Nasiruddin around 1250. Amir Khusrau mentions his cult, and the two major Tughluq sultans, Muhammad and Feroz Shah, visited his tomb. Since according to legend the young hero was slain during his nuptials, the *'urs* has acquired a specific character, i.e., the celebration of his marriage with Zuhra Bibi of Rudauli, who died unmarried and is buried close to his shrine. Special vows are made here, like 'Zuhra Bibi's dowry'. Sikandar Lodi prohibited the celebrations (which are held in Jeth = May-June) because of the immoral

⁶² Still during the elections in Pakistan 1976 the Hindu majority in the Thar desert, Sind, were—at least politically—followers of a Qadiri Pir, representative of the PPP.

⁶³ The legends concerning Mas'ud Salar were collected in Jahangir's time in Abdur Rahman Chishti's *Mir'at-i Mas'udi*. Sober mystics always rejected his cult, as Bada'uni, *Muntakhab III*, transl. 46, text 27, tells of Shaikh ul-Hidya of Khairabad who was asked about Salar Mas'ud and simply replied "He was an Afghan who met his death by martyrdom". A recent study is Kerrin Gräfin Schwerin, 'Heiligenverehrung im indischen Islam', *ZDMG* 126, 1976.

practices. He also stopped the custom of taking out spears in Mas'ud's name; but this custom continued among the Meo, as celebrations in his honour were held all over India. Formerly people would make little horses from wheat flour boiled in syrup when they were cured from diseased legs thanks to his intercession. In former times Salar Mas'ud's *'urs* attracted up to a hundred thousand people, and Shah Waliullah—like many 'sober' mystics—regarded it as an outrageously pagan custom. The graves of Salar Mas'ud's companions in various places are also visited by Muslim and Hindu devotees. Incidentally, the faith in the powers of martyrs—even those who had recently been slain in battle—was so great that a sober scholar like Bada'uni defended the belief that they are capable of begetting children after their death!⁴⁴

Another unusual saint is Zinda Shah Madar, allegedly a converted Jew from Aleppo who was instructed in esoteric sciences by the Imam Mahdi in Najaf. He expelled a demon from the place where he is now buried, i.e. Makanpur near Cawnpore, and Hindus take him for an incarnation of Lakshmana, Rama's brother. He is said to have died in 1050. The Madari dervishes who belong to his place wear black clothes and lead a celibate life; they are credited with healing people who have been bitten by snakes and stung by scorpions but often degenerated into mere jugglers who went around with tame tigers, bears or monkeys or performed firewalking in the saint's name, calling *Dam Madar!*, a formula that was also thought to account for the saint's longevity (400 years!). Women are excluded from the Madar shrine, where even the pious Bada'uni 'was captured in the net of desire and lust', but received 'chastiment for that sin even in this world'.⁴⁵

The Madaris are only one of the groups of wandering dervishes who were frequently found in medieval and sometimes in modern India. The Rifa'iyya partly deteriorated during the Middle Ages into an association of miracle-mongering *faqīrs* who could take out their eyes, swallow live snakes, wound themselves and heal all wounds with spittle.—One subgroup of the so-called *bē shar'* dervishes, 'those who do not honour the divine law', are the *malang*, a word that designates 'any unattached religious beggar who drinks and smokes hemp to excess, wears nothing save a loin cloth, and keeps fire always near to him';⁴⁶ in Pakistan, the expression is usually applied to the *malangs* of Sehwan.—A similar group are the Jalaliyya who are supposed to stem from Makhdum-i jahaniyan of Uch; they wear a necklace of fine wool, a small loin cloth and glass armlets, and carry a club. They, too, are beggars in the bazaar, shave their heads, moustaches and eyebrows, and leave only a scalp lock on

⁴⁴ Bada'uni, i.c. III transl. 146, text 95.

⁴⁵ Id. II, transl. 141, text 137.

⁴⁶ Jafar/Herclots, *Islam in India*, p. 290 ff.

the right side. In this respect they are similar to the *qalandar* who wandered through the country as early as in the 13th century and often disturbed the more sober saints of the two major orders. One of their saints, Najmuddin, is buried in Mandu and, like some other *qalandars*, is credited with an incredibly long life. The main centre of the *qalandars* used to be Bu 'Ali's shrine at Panipat; he has also a sanctuary at Karnal.

Another strange saint whose followers are counted among the *bē shar'* der-vishes is Musa Suhagi, a follower of Jalaluddin Surkh Bukhari, who lived in the late 15th century in Gujarat⁸⁷; he 'concealed his spiritual dignity by living among eunuchs who were dancers by profession', and dressed in women's clothes to show that he was devoted to God as a wife to her husband—an idea that is often expressed in popular mystical poetry in Indian Islam.

Giant saints, *naugaza* ('nine yards long'), used to be venerated in the country, their names or stories being unknown; and the visitor who asks in a Bengali village the age of some martyrs' tombs may get the answer: "Very very old—many thousand years old, as our holy Prophet!" What matters is their *baraka*, not their historicity.

The confluence of Muslim and Hindu religious ideas and forms of asceticism or worship in the outward attitude of many of the *bē shar'* der-vishes also becomes clear from new combinations of spiritual 'helpers' such as the *Panj Piriya*, a group of five saints whose cult is quite common in the fluvial plains of Indo-Pakistan. They are famous in Sonargaon in Bengal, where they, along with Pir Badr, dominate the waters, as they are well known in the Punjab. One of the *Panj Piriya* is Khwaja Khizr, the prototype of saintliness, immortal guide (*Zinda Pīr*), and patron of travellers and seafarers. In India he is connected primarily with travel on rivers and on sea, and in various places little boats with lamps are sent on the river to honour him or to implore his help. The *dhobis* (washermen) of Delhi celebrated his anniversary by sending off little grass boats on the Jumna. Murshidabad in Bengal was known for the Festival of the Raft on the last Thursday of the lunar year, when pretty paper rafts with prows in peacock shape were sent off on the Ganges. In Sind, Khizr is connected with the island of Bhakkar, and formerly the tasty *palla*-fish used to go upstream the Indus to perform their worship there once a year; that is now impossible after two barrages have barred Khwaja Khizr's shrine from the lower Indus. And when in March the small partridges begin to chirp, the Sindhi villager will interpret their call as '*Pīr Pīr Khizr!*'⁸⁸

⁸⁷ Subhan, *Sufism*, p. 259.

⁸⁸ A. Schimmel, 'Sind vor 1947. Die Erinnerungen Pir Ali Mohammed Rashdis', *Indo-Asia* XXVI 1, 1979, p. 67.

The veneration of saints is still a living part of popular Islam in Indo-Pakistan. Numerous people are serving at the shrines in one way or the other, but due to the loss of the *awqāf*, the pious foundations, in India some of the once so glorious *dargāhs* are decaying. In Pakistan they are under the supervision of the Awqaf Department that is supposed to look after repairs and upkeep; but when a *dargāh* is still in the possession of the family they have to contribute much of their own income to the maintenance, and the noble duty of feeding thousands of visitors during the days of the *ʿurs* may tax the finances of the *sajjādanishīn* very heavily. One still sees in the villages that the visit of a Pir to whom the villagers have sworn allegiance is a great and wonderful event; everyone rushes to touch his feet, he is well fed, and the remnants of his table are given to the poor, while he, after counselling and blessing the people, will continue his way, heavily laden with gifts from his poor, faithful followers.

We need not therefore be surprised that reformist Muslims, including Iqbal, wanted to do away with 'Pirism', which appeared to them as one of the reasons for the poverty and backwardness of the people; and the most powerful short stories of contemporary Pakistani writers attack the amassment of wealth at the shrines, contrasting it with the poverty of the masses.⁵⁵ For was not *faqr*, 'poverty', the ideal of the Prophet and his true followers? And could not Islam boast of being a religion without an influential 'priestly' caste? That is certainly true, and yet the faith in the Pir and the visit to shrines may still offer the poor and the suffering some spiritual consolation which enriches their lives in a mysterious way.

* * *

Part of this consolation is derived from the mystical folk poetry that developed in almost all areas of the Subcontinent. And what Dara Shikoh attempted in highly sophisticated language and on philosophical premises—the rapprochement of Muslims and Hindus—was achieved to a large extent in the popular literature in the regional languages, for the mystics wanted only to teach love of God and love of the Prophet, without resorting to the whole apparatus of theological definitions or hairsplitting legalism; more importantly, they wanted to convey these ideas not only to the élite, who, if interested at all in higher metaphysics, might participate in the inner circle around a mystical guide to be initiated into the intricacies of Ibn ʿArabi's terminology, rather,

⁵⁵ Jamal Abro, *Munhuñ Kārō*, 'Geschwärtzen Gesichts', deutsch von A. Schimmel, in R. Italiaander (ed.), *Aus der Palmweinschenke*, Tübingen 1966, is one of the most impressive critical short stories of Pakistan.

they wanted to address the masses, who were neither conversant with the Arabic language of theology nor the Persian of the literati. Therefore they used the indigenous languages and the poetical forms that were known in the countryside and, more specifically, among the women.

The first major Muslim work in Hindi written in the Middle Ages is the *mathnawī* of the love of Lorak and Chanda, composed by Maulana Da'ud for Feroz Tughluq's vizier in ca. 1370, about which Bada'uni says:

When certain learned men of that time asked the *shaiḥ* saying: "What is the reason for the Hindi *mathnawī* being selected?" he answered: "The whole of it is divine truth and pleasing in subject, worthy of the ecstatic contemplation of devout lovers, and conformable to the interpretation of some of the *āyats* of the Koran, and the sweet singers of Hindustan. Moreover, by its public recitation human hearts are taken captive."⁹

In the early Moghul time, several Sufis were authors of ecstatic songs in Hindi, among them the Mahdawi saint Burhanuddin of Kalpi whose disciple Malik Muhammad Ja'isi produced another major work in the indigenous tradition, his epic *Padmāvatī*.—Bada'uni also mentions dervishes from Sind who 'began to sing outside an Indian melody in mournful and grating tones...' and deeply moved him; they may have belonged to the Sindhi Sufis who had settled in Burhanpur in the early 16th century and used their native tongue during the *samāʿ*-sessions.—The stream of indigenous poetry grew in the late 17th century everywhere in the country, and became stronger as the Delhi centred Moghul rule became weaker.

In the largely independent states of Gujarat and Bijapur the Sufi poets early took up the Indian tradition of representing the soul as a longing woman. The very fact that the word *nafs* is feminine in Arabic, and was used by the Sufis of Arabia and Iran mainly to denote the 'lower soul', the 'base instincts', led many Sufis to compare the *nafs* to a disobedient stubborn female that waylays the striving spirit on his path to God. In Indian Sufism, however, the *nafs* in its different stages (*ammāra*, 'inciting to evil' [Sura 12/59]; *lawwāma*, 'blaming' [Sura 75/2], and *muṭmaʿinna*, 'at peace' [Sura 89/27]) becomes the counterpart of the Hindu *virahinī*, the loving spouse who is separated from her Lord and Beloved and longs for union with Him. That could induce them

⁹ Bada'uni, *Muntakhab* I, transl. 330, text 250. Several illustrated Mss. of this poem are known, the most famous one in Bombay, Prince of Wales Museum, see Douglas Barrett and Basil Gray, *Painting of India*, Geneva 1963, pp. 69-71; *The Mughal and Deccani Schools*, Indian Miniature Paintings from the Collection of Edwin Binney 3rd, Portland, Oregon 1973, Nr. 6; s.a. Mujahid Husain Zaidi, *Urdu Handschriften*, (Verz. der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland XXVI), Wiesbaden 1973, Nr. 52; John Rylands Library Manchester, one miniature in R. Pinder-Wilson (ed.), *Paintings from Islamic Lands*, fig. 87. For the text see S. H. Askari, 'Mulla Da'ud's Chanda'in and Sadhan's Maina Sat', *Patna University J.*, XV 1960, p. 61-83.

¹⁰ Bada'uni, id. III, transl. 39 text 231; one Sufi, Ya'qub of Manikpur, (d. 1579) composed Arabic verse in Indian metres, id. III, transl. 126, text 79.

to use feminine diction in their poems to express the craving of the woman soul for God or for the Prophet. For this reason, household occupations, too, could easily be used as symbols for spiritual acts. Gujarat and Bijapur are particularly rich in *chakkīnāma*, 'Millstone poems', which were composed if not by the leading mystics themselves then by their disciples from the 17th century onward. To be sure, the image of the constantly turning millstone was used in various connections by 'Attar and Rumi as much as in the high Persian poetry of the *sabk-i hindi*, but in popular poetry it was a much more existential symbol since the grinding of flour was a central occupation of the women.

The *chakkt*'s handle resembles *alif*, which means Allah, and the axle is Muhammad, and is fixed there.

In this way the truth-seeker sees the relationship.

Ah bismillāh hā hā Allāh!

We put the grains in the *chakkt*
To which our hands are witnesses;
The *chakkt* of the body is in order
When you follow the *sharī'at*...⁷²

Similarly numerous poems are connected with spinning and weaving. In Bijapur, Sufis invented the *charkhīnāma*; in Sind and the Punjab the poets knew that the spinning of fine threads which 'God will buy from the cotton of one's self' (allusion to Sura 9/112) can serve as a perfect image of the careful work that is required to reach one's goal. For: would God buy coarse yarn? Besides, the sound of the spinning wheel resembles the sound of the *dhikr*, in which the pious with low voice repeat thousands of times the names of God, or the profession of faith. Thus a Bijapuri poet sings:

As you take the cotton, you should do *dhikr-i jālī*,
As you separate the cotton, you should do *dhikr-i qalbī*,
And as you spool the thread you should do *dhikr-i 'ainī*...
The threads of breath should be counted one by one, O sister.⁷³

Shah 'Abdullatif in Sind devoted a whole chapter of his *Risālō* in the old melody of spinning songs, *Kapā'iff*, to this topic. Slightly later, a Panjabi poet, Fard Faqir (d. 1790) wrote a *Kasabnāma Bāfīndagān* in which he interprets weaving in a spiritual sense, but also introduces bitter complaints against the rulers who suck the blood of the oppressed weavers and are therefore doomed to go to Hell.⁷⁴ Carefully studied, popular poetry allows us many an insight into the social conditions of late 17th- and 18th-century India.

⁷² Eaton, *Sufis of Bijapur*, p. 163 ff. with numerous examples.

⁷³ Eaton, l.c., p. 164. One may perhaps see in the cotton imagery also a hidden allusion to the patron saint of the cotton-carders, the famous al-Hallāj.

⁷⁴ Lajwanti Ramakrishna, *Punjabi Sufi Poets*, London-Calcutta 1938, p. 81 ff.

On the other hand, the folktales of the Indus valley and the Punjab were spiritualized to form the basis for mystical poems. In the Punjab it is particularly the story of *Hir Ranjhā*, retold by dozens of poets in various languages, with Hir coming to represent the soul, and her beloved Ranjha from Jhang the Divine Beloved.¹⁸ The main figure in these stories is always a woman who braves all afflictions on the mystical path: be it Sohni, who swims across the Indus every night to meet her beloved until the jar that keeps her afloat is broken and she is drowned; Sassui, who after losing her beloved Punhun while indulging in the 'sleep of heedlessness', runs in the desert to follow his caravan and dies after reaching perfect spiritual union with him; and Marui, the village girl, who, kidnapped by the ruler of Umarnot in Sind but not yielding to his blandishments, is the symbol of the soul that is brought into this colourful world but remains faithful to her First Beloved and her original home, Divine Unity.

To make their verses more memorable the Sufis in the rural areas used the inherited forms of poetry: the *Siḥarfi* or Golden Alphabet, and the *bārahmāsa*, the Indian songs so common all over the country which enumerate the twelve months with their typical features: the hero is again the woman soul complaining of or rejoicing at the mysterious actions of her beloved. In these poems the Islamization is usually perfect: the last month of the lunar year, the month of pilgrimage, finally fulfills the bride's yearning to be united with the Beloved—whether in Mecca, His sanctuary, or in Medina, at the Prophet's tomb. Mystical ideas thus could percolate down to the level of lullabies, and the figure of the beloved Prophet was transformed into that of the radiant spiritual bridegroom.

This poetry gave the illiterate villagers the feeling that they too had access to the Divine Truth—the satirical remarks against the learned but stone-hearted theologians expressed not only the feelings of the intoxicated Sufi but likewise voiced the thoughts of those who would never be able to understand all the books of learned legal lore. That is why the folk-poets sing that *Kanz*, *Qudūri*, *Kāfiya*—the three basic books studied in the *madrasas*—are of no avail: what matters is the vision of the Beloved that is not contained in a hundred thousand of books.

Mystical folk-poetry developed most successfully in Sind and in the Punjab. The first examples go back to the 16th century. The Chishti poet Farid-i thani of Pakpattan is credited with verses in Panjabi, some of which have found their way even into the *Ādi Granth*, the sacred book of the Sikhs. A group of

¹⁸ The Urdu inscription of the tomb of Hir in Jhang claims that Hir was a dervish of the Uchh-Bukhari *silsila*, and Ranjha her/his *murid*.

Sufis who migrated from Sind to Burhanpur in the early 16th century in order to escape the harassment of the rulers used Sindhi verse during their *samāʿ* sessions; shortly afterwards the verses by Qadi Qadan of Sehwan (incidentally a follower of the Mahdi of Jaunpur) reveal already the concise style that became classical, containing brief allusions to folk tales. He uses powerful images taken from nature, but even some social criticism is palpable. To him is ascribed the proverbial line:

lūkān ʿarf ā nahw māh muʿālīʿu suprāh

People may turn to grammar—I look at the Beloved.

which sums up the anti-intellectual attitude of most Sufis. The Suhrawardi saint Makhdum Nuh of Hala, whose *dargāh* is still one of the cultural centres of Sind, inserted some Sindhi verse into his Persian *malfūzāt*; and his contemporary ʿAbdulkarim of Bulrri (d. 1623) left 93 mystical Sindhi verses. The mystic's search for the other world is expressed by him in an allusion to Sassui, the heroine of Bhambhore:

Nobody took with himself
two things at once from Bhambhore—
Yearning for the Beloved
and attachment to one's world.⁷⁴

Mian Shah ʿInat, the next mystical Sindhi poet, belonged to the Qadiriya, as did the most outspoken folk poets in the Punjab. There, the first poet known to us from Dara Shikoh's *Hasanāt al-ʿarifīn* is the ecstatic Qadiri Sufi Madho Lal Husain (d. 1593) who, after strict ascetic beginnings took to music, dance, and intoxicants. Called after his Hindu beloved, together with whom he is buried in a modest tomb near the Shalimar gardens in Lahore, he utilized for the first time folk themes in his poems, such as *Sohnī* and *Hīr*. The mosque close to his tomb was later constructed by one of the Muslim wives of Ranjit Singh, the Sikh ruler of the Punjab (d. 1839). A century later, another Qadiri Sufi, Sultan Bahu from Jhang District, whose learned Arabic and Persian works are almost forgotten, composed his famous Panjabi *Siḥarfī* whose first lines point to the secret of constant *dhikr* as taught by the spiritual guide:

Alif—Allah is like the jasmine plant which the preceptor planted in my heart—O He!
By water and the gardener of positive and negative statement it remained near the jugular
vein and everywhere—O He!
It spread fragrance inside when it approached the time of blossoming—O He!
May the efficient preceptor live long, says Bahu, who planted this plant! —O He!⁷⁵

That means that the Qadiri *dhikr*, the bipartite profession of faith, makes God's presence grow in the heart so that He, the fragrant flower, remains

⁷⁴ M. Jotwani, *Shah Abdul Karim*, Delhi 1970, Nr. 17.

⁷⁵ *The Abyat of Sultan Bahoo*, Lahore 1967, *Alif* Nr. 1.

closer to man than the jugular vein (Sura 50/16). And Sultan Bahu's shrine is covered with colourful tiles that suggest a flower garden.

In Sind, mystical poetry reached its apex with Shah 'Abdullatif of Bhit (1689-1752) who accompanied a group of Yogis for some years and praised their spirituality in verses filled with Koranic images. His poems are collected according to their tunes (for they are meant to be sung and not grammatically and logically dissected) in his *Risalo*, still the most popular work of Sindhi poetry, in spite of its intrinsic difficulties. Shah Latif knew the classical Sufi literature, and was fond of Maulana Jalaluddin Rumi; but his way of telling the spiritual pangs of his heroines, who remain faithful to the primordial Covenant with the Divine Beloved, is quite unique in its psychological depth. His verse also reflects the nature of Sind—we visualize dried-up trees, whirlpools, dangerous crocodiles; the fisherman's wife is expecting her husband to return with precious goods; the poor women sleep in thatched huts, waiting for the grace of the Beloved under his aspect of *Sattār*, 'The Coverer', to keep them warm. Grain-hoarders are censured. Cows, buffaloes and frogs are seen, looking at the darkening horizon where black clouds gather and finally rain blesses the thirsty earth—and at this moment the poet turns once more to the Prophet who, like rain, is sent as 'mercy for the worlds' (Sura 21/107) and is implored to intercede for his community at Doomsday. But one would look in vain for any allusion to the fate of his country, parts of which were ceded by Muhammad Shah in 1739 to Nadir Shah and which had to bear the first attacks of Ahmad Shah Durrani as well.

Shah Latif's work has been interpreted from the late 19th century onward by the Hindu scholars of Sind as though it were a work of Hindu mysticism with a superficial Islamic veneer. The same happened to Shah Latif's contemporary in the Punjab, Bullhe Shah (1680-1758) who was much more outspoken in his claims of all-embracing love than Shah Latif. Bullhe Shah of Qasur (where his tomb is in rather bad shape) was a disciple of Shah Inayat Qadiri, who came from an *arāin* family (recent converts to Islam), had a good knowledge of Hindu customs and philosophy and also commented on Muhammad Ghauth Gwaliori's *Jawāhir-i khamṣa*. He preferred a retired life because after Dara Shikoh's execution the atmosphere was not favourable to the Qadiriyya. But his disciple, Bullhe Shah, who led a celibate life, did not care for any prohibition and poured out his feeling of all-pervading unity in daring, most musical verses (*kāfi*) which still are loved in the country. Long chains of questions try to point to the paradox of Unity and multiplicity: 'Sometimes I am this, sometimes that', 'Sometimes He is Abu Hanifa, sometimes Hanuman', etc. In this respect Bullhe Shah is very close to Sachal Sarmast in Sind (1739-1826) who, like him, lived as a celibate in Drazan (Up-

per Sind) and whose verses in Sindhi and Siraiki express exactly the same boundless enthusiasm that is found in Bullhe Shah.

When Bullhe Shah asks: *Bullhē kī jāna māṭ kauñ...*

Bullhe, what do I know what I am?
Neither am I a Muslim in the mosque nor am I in the way of paganism,
Nor among the pure, nor the sinful,
Nor am I Moses, nor Pharaoh...
I am not of Arabia nor of Lahore,
Nor an Indian from the city of Nagaur,
Neither a Hindu nor a Turk or a Peshawari...⁷⁸

then Sachal will sing, using the common female style of addressing one's sisters or girl-friends:

I do not know, O sisters, what I really am.
Perhaps I am a doll, perhaps the thread on which it hangs,
Perhaps a ball in the hand of the beloved,
Perhaps a yoke with a heavy burden,
Perhaps a castle where the king sits and thinks
And talks about many things to get new information.
Perhaps I am a horse which some rider guides,
Perhaps a wave of the ocean which drowns outward being,
Perhaps a henna flower with red colouring,
Perhaps a rose, the head full of scent;
Perhaps I am a fountain, filled by a cloud,
In which the sun is reflected and the moon as well,
Perhaps I am God's mirror from pre-eternity,
Which is beyond all words—
perhaps I am not at all!⁷⁹

And when Sachal's modern editor claims that:

Sindhi nature has accepted the influence of Sufism so much that today in the oriental world no other country can be compared with her... Sarmast was not only the hero of the Muslims; the Hindus of Sind have accepted him with great pride as their spiritual leader...⁸⁰

the same judgment could be passed when reading Bullhe Shah's Panjabi poetry, and indeed his learned interpreter, Lajwanti Ramakrishna, has claimed him as an outspoken representative of Hindu ideas. However, the historian of Sufism is aware that this kind of mystical poetry has appeared in various times and places, and one should never forget that the figures of the Prophet and the great Muslim 'martyrs of love' constitute the basis of this popular poetry.

Panjabi mystical folk poetry was no longer very fertile after Warith Shah gave the legend of Hir Ranjha its final form in the late 18th century. Only

⁷⁸ Ramakrishna, *Panjabi Sufi Poets*, p. 58.

⁷⁹ Sachal, *Risālō*, ed. O. A. Ansari, Karachi 1958, p. 110.

⁸⁰ Id., Introduction.

Khawja Farid of Multan, the modern folk poet of Siraiki, is an exception. Sindhi folk poetry, however, continues to our day, partly because the language was given a good Arabic-based alphabet in 1852 so that its literary development continued, while literary Panjabi, written in Gurmukhi characters, became more and more identified with Sikh culture, the Muslims usually reverting for higher literature to Urdu.

In dealing with religious literature in the regional languages one should not overlook the fact that not only were enthusiastic mystical songs composed, but some theologians also counteracted the paramount influence of the 'intoxicated' Sufis by writing 'orthodox' poems about the duties of the believers or the miracles of the Prophet. In Sind, this trend becomes visible during the 'Naqshbandi reaction' in the first half of the 18th century, when Makhdum Muhammad Hashim of Thatta and his friends produced books like the *Tafsīr-i ḥāshimī*, a Sindhi rhymed commentary of the last part of the Koran, which was to become one of the first books ever printed in Sindhi (Bombay 1857). It inaugurated a long list of full or part translations of the Koran. Makhdum Muhammad Hashim had begun his literary career with the *Qūt al-ʿāshiqīn*, a Sindhi book in rhymes about the virtues of the Prophet, and had discussed in his Arabic *Farāʿid al-islām* 1292 religio-legal questions. He was *sunna*-conforming to the extent of cutting a man's beard not trimmed as prescribed by tradition, and in case he was confronted with opposition in legal or technical problems the Prophet himself would appear in a dream to his opponents to support the Makhdum's view. As a true child of his time he also composed treatises against 'Mourning on 'Ashura Day' and a 'Prohibition of Tobacco'. Yet, the fertile author was called 'a dry tree' by another Naqshbandi mystic who belonged to the faction of 'the cream of the gnostics and exemplar of those who have reached Union', Muhammad Zaman of Lunwari, a fine poet in his native tongue. This 'Abdurrahim Girhori poured out his excessive love of the Prophet in Sindhi poetical commentaries of certain *sūras* and makes God speak in the commentary of *Sūrat al-kauthar* (Sura 108) (—along with Sura 93 the favourite chapter of the lovers of the Prophet—):

Indeed, we have given Thee, O beloved, much good.

One is the pond Kauthar, the sign of this gift.

Thou hast found the taste of the Essence, the veiled treasure house,

The origin of benefactions, the manifestation of the Essence.

That I have given Thee, O beloved, while to others the taste only of the attributes.⁴¹

Girhori dreamt of martyrdom for the sake of Islam and gained his wish in 1778 at the age of 39 when he destroyed a Shīva idol in a nearby village.

⁴¹ A. Schimmel, 'Translations and Commentaries of the Qur'ān in the Sindhi Language', *Oriens* XV 1963.

In the folk literature of both Sind and the Punjab, poems in praise of the saints are numerous: not only of 'Abdulqadir Gilani but also of local saints like Farid Ganj-i Shakar or, more recently, the Pir Pagaro in Sind. Aside from poetical descriptions of the beloved Prophet, whether written by loving mystics or by *sharī'a*-bound theologians, the touching stories of the tragedy of Kerbela are told and retold in various languages; they fill many pages in Panjabi poetry, form one chapter in Shah 'Abdullatif's *Risālō*, and are repeated among the tribes in the Baloch and Pathan hills.⁴² The veneration shown to the *sayyids* resulted in poetry praising their ancestors, and some important Shia centres are found along the Indus and its tributaries—to mention only the Gardezi Pirs of Multan, or the sanctuary of Shah Jiwna near Jhang, which, in the custody of a branch of the Bukhari *sayyids*, has lately become noted for its Muharram festivities.⁴³ The illiterate villagers in the plains were led to at least some understanding of central Islamic values by means of this poetry, and the same can be said about the tribes in the hills. The statement of the Census of Balochistan in 1901 gives, similar to British descriptions of rural life in Sind or the Punjab, a very negative impression of the piety of the tribes:

Brahuis, Baloch and Afghans are equally ignorant of everything connected with their religion beyond the most elementary doctrines. In matters of faith the tribesman confines himself to the belief that there is a God, a Prophet, a Resurrection, and a Day of Judgment. He knows that there is a Koran, but in the absence of knowledge of Arabic and qualified teachers who can expound its meaning, he is ignorant of its contents. He believes that everything happens by inevitable necessity, but how far this is connected in his mind with predestination on the part of the Creator is difficult to say. His practice is, to say the least, un-Islamic. Though he repeats every day that there is one God only who is worthy of worship, he almost invariably prefers to worship some saint or tomb. The Saints or Pirs, in fact, are invested with all the attributes of God...⁴⁴

There is little religious literature in Balochi, but the simple tales and songs about saints and prophet's, about the Prophet's ascension to heaven, or praises of 'Ali's generosity are touching in their warm, trusting love; they also prove that generally-known Islamic stories such as the *Zumzumnāma* (= *jumjuma*, i.e., the king's speaking skull) were known among the Baloch tribes, and the saints of Sind, where they usually spent the cold winters with their animals are venerated by them too (Pir Murad of Thatta, Lal Shahbaz Qalandar).

The Pathans can boast of a long tradition of impressive, powerful poetry,

⁴² More than fifty Kerbela poems are listed in L. Barnett, *Punjabi Printed Books in the British Museum*, London 1961. For the Multani *marthiya*, which developed particularly from the mid-19th century, see Christopher Shackle, 'The Multani *marthiya*', *Der Islam* 55/1978.

⁴³ Samina Quraeshi, *Legacy of the Indus*, New York 1974, gives good photographs of the Muharram in Shah Jiwna.

⁴⁴ *Imperiae Gazetteer of India Provinciae Series*.—Part Baluchistan, Calcutta 1908.

the first examples of which even predate Sindhi and Panjabi religious poetry. Beginning with Pir-i Raushan and the works of his orthodox adversary Akhund Darweza, Pashto has produced the same kinds of religious literature as the plains, such as eulogies of the Prophet, hymns in honour of Gilani, etc. Forms like the Golden Alphabet are also used among the Pathans:

Alif is the secret of the essential Name,
The light of all kinds of qualities..."

The Pashto poets of the 18th century sang of the birth of the Prophet and his miracles as they composed metrical *Jangnāmas*, tales about the battle of Kerbela, which are often translations from Arabic or Persian. Pashto poetry can even boast of two translations of Busiri's (d. 1298) *Burda*, the famous Arabic poem in honour of the Prophet, texts of which, with Panjabi or Urdu interlinear translations, are also sold in Lahore and elsewhere.

Higher mystical poetry is not lacking among the Pathans either; the tradition of Pir-i Raushan, first transformed into poetry by Molla Arzani and Mukhlis, was eloquently continued by a descendant of the master, Mirza Ansari, who died either under Shah Jahan or Aurangzeb. More than other Pashto poets he has expressed the enthusiastic feeling of unity which is so characteristic of Sachal and Bullhe Shah:

How shall I define what thing I am—
Wholly existent, and non-existent, thro' Him, I am.

Whatever becometh naught out of entity,
The signification of that nothingness am I.

Sometimes a mote in the disc of the sun,
At others, a ripple on the water's surface.

...I have enveloped myself in the four elements:
I am the clouds on the face of the sky.

...In the lot of the devoted, I am the honey,
In the souls of the impious, I am the sting."⁴³

The most outstanding among the Pathan mystics was no doubt the Chishti poet 'Abdurrahman, tenderly called Rahman Baba, who lived in the days of Aurangzeb. 'Abdurrahman's poetry seems to be less ecstatic than that of most mystical singers; the earnest attitude of the early Sufis, the awareness of passing through a perishable world, but also the experience that everything created constantly praises the Lord permeates his verse:

Relentless fate will make it like unto the shifting sands:
Whoever buildeth up a structure, in this world."⁴⁴

⁴³ J. Blumhardt and D. N. MacKenzie, *Catalogue of the Pashto Manuscripts in the British Isles*, London 1965, Nr. 39.

⁴⁴ G. H. Raverty, *Selections from the Poetry of the Afghans*, London 1862, p. 75.

⁴⁵ *Id.*, p. 15.

'Quicksand' is an expression common to the Persian writing poets of his time who saw worldly glory crumble like sand and change like dunes. Rahman Baba knows that the true power rests only with God:

The earth hath bowed down its head in His adoration,
And the firmament is bent over in the worship of Him.
Every tree, and every shrub, stand ready to bend before Him,
Every herb and blade of grass are a tongue to utter His praise.
Every fish in the deep praiseth and blesseth His name,
Every bird, in the meadows and in the fields, magnifieth Him.⁴⁴

One of the major Pashto poets of the 18th century, Shaida, a descendant of the freedom fighter and fertile poet Khushhal Khan Khatak (d. 1689) settled in the Afghan principality of Rampur after becoming a devout follower of the Naqshbandis of Sirhind.

Pashto mystical poetry seems to be closer in character to the classical Persian tradition than to the Indian one whereas the mystics in the easternmost corner of the Subcontinent, in Bengal, followed the indigenous tradition almost exclusively. To be sure, in Bengal, too, Arabic and Persian had been the languages for higher literature and even *maulūds*, the poems in honour of Muhammad's birth, were only recently composed in Bengali (I heard in 1962 a little Muslim boy ask his father, a poet who had composed a Bengali *maulūd*: 'Does God understand Bengali?'). Still, Muslim Bengali literature had developed through the ages, dealing with religious topics and popular legends. Here again, poems on Muhammad's ascension, the battle of Kerbela and similar topics are found, but the typical expression of mystical feeling in Bengal is the genre of *marifatis*, small songs, in which the poet expresses his love and yearning, and which resemble folk poetry in the Indus valley. Bengali mystical poems are close to the Hindu tradition, so that the flute of Lord Krishna and the flute of which Maulana Rumi sings become at times interchangeable. The Bauls have perfected this fusion in their songs. The imagery of sailors is natural for a country largely dependent upon its great rivers: the Prophet is seen as the boatsman who brings the wayward, restless soul safely to the other shore. And when the Sindhi or Panjabi poet speaks of the jasmine flower of his heart, or reverts to agricultural imagery, the Bengali Sufi describes his heart's state in images taken from the ever-present waters:

O Allah, be compassionate.
I have no one but Thee to complain,
I have no one but Thee to talk to.
Restless, my heart is worried
Like the trembling waves of the sea.
Thou makest me drift from shore to shore

⁴⁴ Id., p. 49.

Like little water hyacinths.
Thou makest me weep
Like a madman that cries on the road—
As the dumb dream and cannot tell their dream,
That's how I am,

Mystical poetry in the regional tongues of the Subcontinent is perhaps the finest expression of the feelings of the millions of illiterate people who lived relying upon the Prophet, their intercessor at Doomsday, and venerating the Pirs who might help them in procuring their goal in this world and the next. This poetry helped both to form and to express people's deep trust and unquestioning faith in God's wisdom. Even if they were suffering like Mansur Hallaj, or like the grandsons of their beloved Prophet, even then—the Sufi poets told them—they had to trust the wisdom of God's love and to understand that those whom He loves best have to suffer most.

CHAPTER FIVE

INDIA AFTER AURANGZEB: MUSLIM LIFE AND THOUGHT BETWEEN 1707 AND 1857

In 1707, the poet Ja'far Zattalli, 'the jester', wrote one of his rare pieces of serious poetry, in which he depicts the rival factions at court after Aurangzeb's death:

Where shall we find so excellent a king,
Complete, consummate, perfect, knowing hearts?
The world is weeping tears of blood,
And gentle sleep to no one comes
Because of cannons' noise and guns...
Cutting, smiting on all sides,
On all sides death and violence,
Turmoil, axes, daggers, poniards...¹

Aurangzeb reigned almost half a century. Under him the Moghul Empire had reached its greatest extent, but rebellious forces from various racial and religious backgrounds began to destroy the kingdom from within. When Aurangzeb died in March 1707 the high time of the Empire with only four rulers in one century and a half, was finished. One weak puppet ruler followed the other. Aurangzeb's eldest surviving son Mu'azzam, aged 64, eventually overcame his brothers and acceded to the throne as Bahadur Shah. During his reign the assassination of the tenth Sikh Guru, Govind Singh, caused new complications, for the next Sikh leader, Banda, and his followers 'committed cruelties exceeding all belief' in the Punjab. When Bahadur Shah died in February 1712 in Lahore, he was succeeded by Jahandar Shah, a profligate who was executed after eleven months by Bahadur Shah's grandson, Farukhsiyar, aided by the Sayyid brothers. Sayyid 'Abdallah Khan and Husain 'Ali Khan of Barha, scions of a Shia family that had played an important political role since Akbar's days, were rulers for all practical purposes during the next years although their Shia policies led to some disturbances in Agra, Lahore, and other places where the population strongly opposed the Shia form of the call to prayer as introduced under Bahadur Shah (1709), so that it had to be cancelled. After disposing the emperor in early 1719, the Sayyid brothers were finally captured, and the anti-Sayyid, Turani faction at court enthroned, after a few phantom rulers, the young Muhammad Shah *Rangela*

¹ T. G. Bailey, *Urdu Literature*, p. 43.

('pleasure-loving') in late 1719, who ruled until 1748, probably due more to his laxity and disinterest in politics than to his statecraft. He certainly was a lover of poetry (and of female beauty),¹ but could do nothing to check the disintegration of his empire. Bengal became a virtually independent province in 1717. Muhammad Shah's prime minister, the able Nizamulmulk Asaf Jah (whose father, Ghaziuddin Jang, had been in charge of Aurangzeb's troops that occupied Hyderabad) retired to his fief in the Deccan in 1724, founding there the line of the Nizams of Hyderabad. The governor of Oudh, the Persian-born Mir Muhammad Amin, known as Sa'adat Khan, who had risen under the Sayyid brothers, became virtually independent in 1723. His nephew Safdar Jang was later appointed vizier to the Moghul Emperor, and the rivalry between his and the Nizam's family (the centuries-old Turani-Irani conflict!) proved fatal for the Empire. The Bangash Nawwabs, a Pathan clan, began to constitute a political faction in their new capital Farrukhabad; in the hill area of Rohilkand, north of Rampur, the Rohilla Afghans built up their power and were able to enter the great political game in Delhi after 1739. The Marathas, who were paramount in the Deccan about 1720, marched against Delhi in 1737 but did not besiege the capital; their power steadily increased, extending even to Bengal, until 1761, and in the last decades of the 18th century they played a decisive role in Delhi politics.

In 1738-39 an unforeseen catastrophe struck the country; that was Nadir Shah's invasion. After taking Qandahar—since long a bone of contention between Iran and the Moghuls—he marched into Northwest India, left his representative in Lahore and in March 1739 crushed the badly organized Moghul army near Karnal. As a result of the discord among the leading nobles, the Moghuls had to pay an incredibly high indemnity; Sa'adat Khan of Oudh played a sad role in the drama. Finally the capital was sacked; about 30,000 persons were massacred in one day. From the once so glorious Moghul Empire not much more than the ruins of Delhi were left. These, however, attracted every aspirant to power.

Muhammad Shah survived even the destruction of his capital in 1739; but his successors after 1748 had to face new invasions from enemy and friend. Nadir Shah's successor, the Afghan Ahmad Shah Durrani Abdali, invaded the Northwest almost regularly, beginning in 1748, and annexed the Punjab for some time. The Nizam's young grandson, Ghaziuddin 'Imadulmulk, most active in Delhi politics, had the emperor Ahmad Shah blinded; an invasion by Abdali in 1757 again brought looting and torment upon the inhabitants of

¹ See for instance about the role of Koki Jiw during the time of Muhammad Shah, R. Misra, *Women in Mughal India*, Delhi 1967, p. 56-58.

Delhi, who had barely recovered from the cruel Jat attack in 1754. Abdali returned to India in 1759 after another emperor had been murdered, and a struggle for succession set in; he relied mainly upon the Rohillas and their able chief Najibuddaula, who enjoyed also the protection of the Delhi theologians because, though illiterate, he was a great patron of Islamic learning. Abdali defeated the Marathas in 1761 near Panipat, but that did not help to consolidate Moghul power; on the contrary, the factional struggles continued. One group at court had elected 'Alamgir II's son 'Alī Gauhar 'Alam II as legitimate ruler in 1759; but he preferred to live in exile, first in Lucknow, then in Allahabad. Trying to secure parts of Bengal for himself, he was defeated by the British at Buxar in 1763, but returned finally to Delhi after Najibuddaula's death in 1770, and later became largely dependent upon the Maratha chief Sindhia, who was supported by Warren Hastings. The British crushed the Rohilla in 1774 with the help of the Nawwabs of Oudh, but Najibuddaula's grandson Ghulam Qadir revenged them: in 1787 he blinded Shah 'Alam II in his palace in Delhi. The ruler, who had assumed the pen-name *Afrāb*, 'Sun', deplored his fate in touching Persian verse:

The cold storm of disaster rose to debase me,
And gave the implements of my rule to the wind.
I was the sun of the sphere of loftiness of kingship—
A black sigh brought my affairs to the evening of extinction.
My eyes were dug out by the tyranny of the sky. It was better
That I should not see how someone else rules in my place...¹

But although the *sharī'a* considers blindness as one of the defects which disqualify a person as ruler (hence the many instances of blinding in the course of Indo-Muslim history), Shah 'Alam II remained a figure-head of the Moghul Empire under British protection till 1806; his two successors were more or less puppets without any political importance.

* * *

How can a man close his eyes in sleep
Since tribulation is awake out of fear of thieves?

says the satirist Sauda in those years, pointing to the 'scene of destructive conflict and discordant ambition'² and the complete ruin of Delhi, which caused most of the poets and the intelligentsia, who had lost their patrons, to emigrate to safer places, such as Oudh, where the Nawwabs built up a splendid kingdom in which the Shia creed was prevalent. The pious and learned

¹ S. M. Ikram, *Armaghān-i Pak*, p. 3191 s. also A. Schimmel, 'Gedanken zu zwei Porträts Šāh 'Alams II', in *Festschrift für Hans Robert Roemer*, Beirut 1979.

² Spear, *Twilight*, p. 5.

refugee from Iran, 'Ali Hazin (d. 1766 in Benares), who sought peace in India and was overtaken by ever new invaders and their troops in Sind, the Punjab and Delhi, has dramatically described his adventures in his *Tadhkirat al-ahwāl*.

It is said that during Nadir Shah's attack on Delhi the Muslims—probably for the first and last time in their history—pondered the idea of committing *jauhar*, self-immolation in the Rajput style; but 'one of their leaders spoke against it, reminding them of the tragedy of Kerbela where the descendants of the Prophet, though in a minority, fought to the last valiantly and spiritedly'.⁵ This leader was Shah Waliullah, the multifaceted theologian, who has been called by Iqbal 'the first Muslim to feel the urge for a new interpretation of Islam'. But even he had pointed to the tragedy of 1739 in Arabic verse:

...and there were stars which furtively glanced in the gloom:
vipers' eyes, or scorpions' heads...

Qutbuddin Ahmad Abu'l-Fayyaz, called Shah Waliullah Dihlawi, was the son of a jurist who participated in the compilation of the *Fatāwā-yi 'ālamgiri*. At his birth in 1703 his father heard a voice saying:

If Prophethood after Muhammad were possible We would make him a prophet, but that is cut off!

The boy studied under his father, whom he succeeded at the age of 16 as principal of the Rahimiyya Madrasa, an institution founded by his grandfather. In 1730 he performed the pilgrimage to Mecca and stayed in the Holy Cities for two years to study *ḥadīth*. His teachers were mainly the same as those of 'Abdulwahhab, the reformer of Arabia, a group of strictly *sharī'a*-bound scholars, among whom Muhammad Hayat as-Sindi (d. 1750) occupied an outstanding place; he was, like his teacher Abu'l-Hasan as-Sindi, engaged in the *Dār ash-shifā*, the centre of *ḥadīth* studies in Medina. After his return to Delhi Shah Waliullah worked untiringly in his home town and produced a long list of books in both Arabic and Persian, trying to build up a religious philosophy for the Muslims, who needed a new approach to life in this age of catastrophe, and, diagnosing their spiritual ailment, he tried to find a remedy. Well aware of the tensions between the schools of law and the various Sufi orders, he aimed at *tafīq*, conciliation, so much so that he even tried to reach an intermediate position between the conflicting ontological theories of *waḥdat al-wujūd* and *waḥdat ash-shuhūd*. Initiated into the Naqshbandiyya, Qadiriyya and Chishtiyya (whose Nizami branch was revived in those days by

⁵ Nizami, *Religion and Politics*, p. 81, note 1.

⁶ *at-Tafhimāt al-ilāhiyya*, ed. G. M. al-Qasimi, Hyderabad/Sind, II 181.

Pir Kalimullah, 1650-1729), he was informed by the Prophet himself that no *ṭarīqa* should be preferred over another. Yet, he states that:

The *nisba* that I received from Shaikh ²Abdulqadir Gilani is purer and subtler; the *nisba* that I received from Khwaja Naqshband is more overpowering and effective; the one that I received from Khwaja Mu'inuddin is nearer to love, and more conducive to the effect of the [Divine] Names and the purity of thought.³

In his attempt to re-open the very sources of legal thought Waliullah went back to Malik ibn Anas' (d. 795) *Muwāṭṭa'*², the first complete work on the principles of Islamic law, and wrote a Persian and an Arabic commentary on it; likewise he composed several studies to show that the differences of the *madhhab*s should be understood as historical developments without deeper religious meaning. For this reason he regarded *ijtihād* as possible.⁴

One of Waliullah's most important contributions to the religious life of the Indian Muslims was his Persian translation of the Koran (*Fath ar-rahmān*). God Himself had 'taught him interpretation in easy words', as he claims.⁵ He rightly felt that the Muslims would be more easily in a position to live in accordance with the Holy Writ if they could understand its text instead of relying solely upon commentaries and supercommentaries which often obscured the original, living word. His principles of exegesis are laid down in *Al-fauz al-kabīr*.—Shah Waliullah's major work in Arabic (now prescribed in al-Azhar!) appeared briefly after Nadir Shah's invasion of Delhi; it is *Hujjat Allāh al-baligha*, 'The Perfect Proof of God';—one has to remember that the title *Hujjat Allāh* traditionally is given to the *mahdī*. Indeed, it was an almost apocalyptic experience through which the inhabitants of Delhi went in 1739!

It seems a strange coincidence that a few months after the sack of Delhi the fourth and last *qayyūm* from the house of Ahmad Sirhindi, Pir Muhammad Zubair, passed away. His most faithful disciple, Nasir Muhammad 'Andalib, wrote in his memory the *Nāla-i 'Andalīb*, 'The Complaint of the Nightingale'. In this work, completed in 1740 and written down by Nasir's middle son Khwaja Mir Dard, the foundations of the *ṭarīqa muḥammadiyya* are laid down and explained in long-winded and often confusing allegories. In the end, the complaining nightingale, i.e. the author 'Andalib, reveals his identity with the Prophet... Being a sayyid and having experienced the stage of *fanā fi* ²*r-rasūl*, 'annihilation in the Prophet', Muhammad Nasir thus claimed supreme rank for himself in the spiritual hierarchy. He had been initiated into

² id. I 56.

³ For all references to Shah Waliullah in detail see A. Schimmel, 'The Golden Chain of Sincere Muhammadans', in B. Lawrence, (ed.), *The Rose and the Rock*, Univ. of North Carolina, Durham, 1979.

⁴ *Tafhīmāt*, II 55.

the Naqshbandiyya by both the fourth *qayyūm* and Saʿdullah Gulshan (d. 1728), the poet and great benefactor of Urdu poetry. Around 1734, he was granted a vision of Imam Hasan, the Prophet's grandson, who instructed him in the fundamentals of what was called *ṭarīqa muḥammadiyya*, the 'Muhammadan Path', a mystically deepened fundamentalist form of Islam. This *ṭarīqa*, carried on by his son Dard, was to become a politically important instrument in the hands of Shah Waliullah's descendants.¹⁰

We may assume that Shah Waliullah was aware of this current; he himself finished the *Hujjat Allāh al-bāligha* shortly after the *Nāla-i ʿAndalīb* was completed. The work, the *summa* of his thought and teaching, comprises theories of religion, economics, man's spiritual development, political philosophy, etc. He offers his reflections about the reasons for the ruin of the country: a) the pressure on the Treasury by people who try to get money without properly working for it, and b) the all too heavy taxation. And he went so far as to state:

The meaning of 'property' is that he who brings land into cultivation has a greater right on it than any other person¹¹

—an idea that could easily form the basis of later, socialist interpretations of his work. The real importance of the *Hujja* was indeed understood only much later. One of the central concepts in Shah Waliullah's 'practical theology' is *maṣlaḥa*, 'welfare' of the people, which is 'based on the relationship of man's development with the creative forces of the universe'. On the more theoretical level, his theory of prophetship is quite interesting: a prophet can appear under various headings—*rasūl*, 'messenger', *khalīfa*, 'vicegerent', *raʾīs*, 'leader', *ʿālim*, 'scholar', *zāhid*, 'ascetic' or *murshid*, 'spiritual guide'; Muhammad alone combined all these qualities in himself. Additionally he had perfect accidental qualities, such as a beautiful voice and bodily strength and was the incorporation of *ʿiṣmat*, 'freedom of sins'; a necessary relation existed between him and *al-maʿla al-aʿlā*, the supreme assembly of angels. The Prophet has to lead people from darkness to light and to shape a functioning society; the different teachings of the prophets (and, on a lower level, of mystical guides) can be explained by the requirements of the material upon which they had to work—the coarser a people's nature (*fīṣrat*), the harder the rules of the spiritual leader, for only thus their innate qualities can be polished to utmost perfection. The true sign of a prophet's greatness is his success which can be gauged by the greatness of the nation which he has built, an idea

¹⁰ See A. Schimmel, *Pain and Grace*, Leiden 1976, Part I.

¹¹ J. M. S. Baljon, 'The Qur'anic views of Ubayd Allāh Sindhi and Shah Wali Allāh', *Islamic Studies* XVI, 1977.

which is not only echoed by Waliullah's contemporary Mazhar Janjanaan in his attacks against the Shia (who must be wrong since the Sunnites are the larger community!) but even more in Iqbal's *Six Lectures*.

God gave the Prophet intelligence by which he could find the proper means to institute a healthy society, civil economy, and social intercourse, and the management of the community.¹²

And his soul can hold reflections of stories of bygone generations and of events concerning the society as a whole.

At times Shah Waliullah turns to psychological arguments. The mystery of the Prophet's ascension (*mi'raj*) is explained thus by saying that:

The human perfections of the Prophet manifested themselves in the shape of his purified body while his animalic perfections were embodied in the shape of Burāq.¹³

Miracles are sometimes interpreted in a surprisingly naturalistic way, thus the Splitting of the Moon (Sura 54/1):

It is not necessary to assume that the moon had actually split in two. Rather there may have occurred something like a smoke, the swooping down of a star, an eclipse of the sun or of the moon which the people observed in the sky...¹⁴

But that does not hinder Waliullah from singing of this and other miracles in his Arabic hymns of honour of the Prophet.

Shah Waliullah voiced very high claims for himself. As Ahmad Sirhindi had brought forth the idea of the *qayyūm*, which Shah Waliullah interprets in his *Lamahāt* as an equivalent of the 'Breath of the Merciful' or the 'Seal of the Divine Names', thus he himself felt that God had called him to be 'the Prophet's vicegerent in blaming'.¹⁵ And even more: in *Fuyūz al-haramain* he speaks of a dream according to which he was the *qā'im az-zamān*, i.e., 'if God wants anything in terms of good order He makes me the instrument for completing His will'. *Qā'im az-zamān*, however, is the title of the *mahdī* in Shia Islam.—Like Ahmad Sirhindi Waliullah believed himself a *mujaddid*, a renovator; for every prophet needs a *mujaddid* to purify his religion 'from the undue assumptions of the plagiarists', and when the circle of wisdom, *hikma* was finished for him, God invested him with the robe of renovatorship, nay, with the robe of *haqqāniyya*, participation in the Divine Truth. God often ad-

¹² J. M. S. Baljon, *A Mystical Interpretation of Prophetic Tales by an Indian Muslim, ta'wil al-ahādith*, Leiden 1973, p. 58. Cf. *Tafhīmāt* I Nr. 28, 34, 56, p. 201. Iqbal says in Chapter V of *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*: 'Another way of judging the value of a prophet's religious experience, therefore, would be to examine the type of manhood that he has created, and the cultural world that has sprung out of the spirit of his message.'

¹³ *Tafhīmāt* II 195.

¹⁴ Baljon, *Mystical Interpretation*, p. 60.

¹⁵ *Tafhīmāt* II 19.

dressed him, spoke through his tongue, granted him hitherto unknown wisdom and taught him a shortcut in the mystical path. The Prophet, too, blessed him with thirteen visions, called 'good tidings' (*mubashshirāt*), telling him that he should gather a small group of the 'nation that is forgiven' around him. He also received traditions from the Prophet in his dreams. These, however, have to be considered relevant only for the dreamer, to the exclusion of the community.

It is no surprise that after experiencing complete *fanā*, 'annihilation', and being 'like a corpse in the hand of the undertaker' in God's will, Waliullah was also promised to enter Paradise without reckoning. Imam Hasan gave him the Prophet's pen, while Imam Husain gave him the Prophet's mantle, so 'that from this day onward my breast was opened' (cf. Sura 94/1) to compose books on legal problems. Nawwab Siddiq Hasan of Bhopal therefore states that if Shah Waliullah had lived in the early centuries of Islam he would have been regarded as an *imām*, comparable to Abu Hanifa or Abu Hamid al-Ghazzali.

As much as Shah Waliullah was interested in compromise, he always stressed the Arabic aspect of Islam. According to him, the Prophet had two outstanding qualities—one is prophethood, and the other one that Quraish was blessed by him. Therefore he writes in one of his *waṣīyas*:

We are Arab people whose fathers have fallen in exile (*ghurba*) in the country of Hindustan, and Arabic genealogy and Arabic language are our pride.¹⁶

He therefore demanded in the *Hujjat* (II 122) that the customs of the Arabs should be substituted for foreign customs; for the Arabs were given mastery over all religious communities. Claims like this, perpetuated by many Muslim thinkers throughout the centuries, explain why in the heat of communalist arguments the Hindus might accuse the Muslims of never having become true citizens of India; instead, they turned to the cradle of Islam, thus aligning themselves with the Middle East rather than with their native country.

In spite of his own exalted spiritual claims, Shah Waliullah was most critical of the mystics of his time. What he abhorred most—quite in tune with his Wahhabi colleagues in Arabia—was the veneration of saints and tomb-worship so that he bursts out:

Everyone who goes to the country of Ajmer or to the tomb of Salar Mas'ud or similar places because of a need which he wants to be fulfilled is a sinner who commits a sin greater than murder or adultery. Is he not like those who call to Lat and 'Uzza? Only we cannot call them infidels because there is no clear text in the Koran on this particular matter...¹⁷

¹⁶ Id. II 246.

¹⁷ Id. II 34.

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¹⁷ Id. II 34.

Sufis who talked in terms which are not based on the Koran, particularly concerning *tauḥīd*, were the object of his blame, just as Dard attacks those Sufis who described God with high-flown names not found in the Koran. And Waliullah went so far as to state that 'the books of the Sufis may be useful for the elect, but for common people they are more dangerous than poison',¹⁸ a statement which is echoed in Iqbal's work. Yes, the ignorant Sufis and those who pretend Sufism are the very highway robbers and thieves of religion! His compatriot Dard would call them 'pig-natured'. When Shah Waliullah writes that one should not pledge alliance to the *shaikhs* of this time because they 'sell miracles', the reader is reminded of Dard's 'shopkeeper *shaikhs*'; and the third Delhi mystic, Mazhar Janjanaan, expressed similar views to his *khalīfa* Panipati. But not only the pseudo-Sufis are blamed by Shah Waliullah and his colleagues. Those who study outward sciences like grammar and rhetoric, and especially the philosophers, do not fare better: they are lower than dogs because they lick bones two thousand years old while true scholarship, *ilm*, means to ponder the verses of the Holy Book or the traditions of the Prophet. Here, he stands in the tradition of most Sufis, for whom the philosophers were either laughing stock or scapegoat; that holds true from Sana'i and Rumi to Iqbal, who condemned dry philosophy, although he, like Waliullah, was a religious philosopher of high order.

But Shah Waliullah's activities were not restricted to mere writing and teaching. In a fiery speech addressed to the various classes of Muslims he enumerates their sins: from immoral preachers and mosque servants and those who sit in the *khānqāhs*, to the kings who neglect their duty, i.e., fighting for Islam; from the amirs who do not care when brothels and gambling dens are built in their fiefs so long as they get their money, to the soldiers who should not dress in fancy style but rather follow the injunctions of Islam and pray and fight, and to the artisans who perform pilgrimages to Shah Madar and Salar Mas'ud—'and how evil is this act of theirs!'—, who drink and womanize...¹⁹

In good Naqshbandi fashion he attacks the Shia—one of his first literary works was an enlarged translation of Ahmad Sirhindi's treatise against the Shia 'whose way is *bāḥil*, 'untrue', as the Prophet had told him in a dream.

¹⁸ *Alṭāf al-quḍs*, p. 92. Cf. similar attacks by earlier Sufis: Bada'uni, *Muntakhab* II transl. 287, text 279: 'That is not Sufi action or liberality but rather deceitful action and bawdery. Theft and robbery are better than this. Robbing the dead of the clothes is better than this'. In Sind, the Qadiri master Shah Lutfullah in the 17th century spoke against the ignorant Sufis, as did, in Central India, Muhammad Qadi Shattari in the late 15th century (Lawrence, *Notes from a distant flute*, p. 85), and Ghulam Ahmad in the Carnatic criticized the Sufi attitude in his writings around 1760 (Kokan, *Arabic and Persian in Carnatic*, p. 112-113).

¹⁹ *Tafhīmāt* I p. 282.

This attitude, however, did not hinder him from a deep veneration of the Prophet's family. But the exaggerated celebrations of *‘Ashūrā* appeared to him silly, for 'is there any day that some lover does not lose a beloved by death?'

His concern for the welfare of the Muslim community was all the more necessary as the inhabitants of northwestern India, and particularly the capital, were visited by constant trials and tribulations. Muslims and infidels, co-religionists and foreign merchants were invading the country and established one foothold after the other in India. Shah Waliullah saw all this, and therefore interfered in politics, siding with the Rohilla chief Najibuddaula. His political letters are an important expression of his wish to help the Muslim community of the Subcontinent although he apparently was not aware of the growing threat that came from the British. He was instrumental in inviting Ahmad Shah Abdali from Afghanistan to support the Muslims against the Marathas and the Sikhs, who were extending their rule over the Punjab. He told the Afghan ruler that it was *farz-i ‘ain*, his individual religious duty, to rescue his coreligionists, and he saw Ahmad Shah's victory in the third battle of Panipat. But he also had the experience that the Afghan 'friends' plundered the unlucky capital once more. As Mir, the finest lyrical poet of classical Urdu, tells:

The Afghans and Rohillas started their work of slaughter and plunder, breaking down the doors, tying up those they found inside, and in many cases burning them alive or cutting off their heads. Everywhere was bloodshed and destruction, and for three days and nights this savagery continued... Men who had been pillars of the state were brought to nothing, men of noble rank left destitute, family men bereft of all their loved ones. Most of them roved the streets amid insult and humiliation. Mens' wives and children were made captive, and the killing and looting went on unchecked.²⁰

One year later, in 1762, Shah Waliullah died. A most unusual personality among the mystically trained thinkers of the 18th century, he was ahead of his time in many respects, combining sublime mystical speculations, rationalism, prophetic energy and common sense in a strange way. The depth of his influence is only slowly coming to light. It shaped not only the members of his family, who continued his work by translating the Koran into Urdu and who were influential in supporting some of the most important religio-political leaders of the early 19th century, but is visible—though in a different style—also in Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan, and in Iqbal.

But Shah Waliullah was only one of the great spiritual leaders of 18th century Delhi. His friend was Mazhar Janjanaan, the stern Naqshbandi, whom he styles as

²⁰ *Dhikr-i Mir*, quoted in R. Russell-Khurshidul Islam, *Three Mughal Poets*, Cambridge, Mass. 1968, p. 32.

the *qayyim* of the path of Ahmad [Sirhindi], the caller to the Prophetic *sunna*..., the one illuminated by various virtues..., who opened various doors of blessings for the community of mankind...²¹

Mazhar was born in 1699 to a courtier in Agra. When he was 18 he became the disciple of a disciple of Mir Ma'sum, Ahmad Sirhindi's son, and began 'to sweep the threshold of the dervish lodges' at the age of thirty. Foresaking his former inclination to music and mystical concerts, he concentrated upon the Naqshbandi doctrine, 'which is built upon the Book and the *sunna*' and hence as valid as these two. Especially the Prophet's tradition was important for him, 'for due to the blessings of this science the light of faith increases and success in good works and fine ethical qualities appears'. Like Waliullah he had a multiple initiation (Qadiriyya, Chishtiyya, Suhrawardiyya), but after joining the Naqshbandiyya 'there was no strength left to counteract the injunctions of the *sunna*'. Teaching his numerous disciples the secret of the silent *dhikr* was his main aim, provided the disciples had chosen the mystical path out of love. His teaching was also propagated by letters that reveal him as a good teacher but also as a vulnerable human being: after a mystical inclination to the handsome poet Taban he had married a perfectly intolerable wife in order to train his lower self and hoped to purify his soul by putting up with her whims; but once in a while a little sigh is heaved in his letters...

Mazhar was the least metaphysically minded of the three Delhi mystics; he was not interested in questions like 'essential *tauḥīd*' because 'the tongue of the Divine Law is silent in this respect', hence such speculations are unnecessary. Patience and constant worship was his way of life, and he laid particular stress upon the ritual prayer, which, as he thought, 'embraces all the various particular modes of other religious works'; therefore he used to pray 60 *rak'a* every 24 hours. While the other saints kept their teaching tradition more or less in the family, Mazhar attracted many students and created not less than 49 *khalifas*. He studied Shah Waliullah's books, and his most famous *khalifa*, Qadi Thana'ullah Panipati, who was Waliullah's pupil in *ḥadīth*, commented upon some of them; he also composed a voluminous commentary on the Koran, called *Tafsīr-i maḡhari* after his spiritual guide.²² His Persian handbook of Hanafi *fiqh*, *Ma lā budd*, was widely used in India. Both Shah Waliullah and Mazhar were fond of a classic of Arabic literature, ash-Shadhili's *Ḥizb al-bahr*, that famous prayer which had protected so many pious people throughout the centuries.

Theologians in the Indian environment had always to cope with the problems of the interpretation of Hindu practices. Nasir Muhammad 'Andalib

²¹ A. Q. Quraishi, *Mazhar Jānjānān aur unkā Urdu kalām*, Bombay 1961, p. 165.

²² Printed in 13 volumes Delhi 1968-1975.

had borrowed a few ideas from the Indian tradition and was particularly fond of Indian music; he had a working knowledge of Yoga philosophy, but rejected the miracles performed by the Hindus as magic: even the smallest achievement of a Muslim is greater than the most stunning miracle wrought by a Yogi. Here, he follows the traditional line. Mazhar, on the other hand, claimed that one should not regard the Hindus as polytheists because basically they are monotheists—yet, after the appearance of the Prophet of Islam their religion should be regarded as abrogated.²¹

Mazhar wrote in his *Kalimāt-i fayyiba*:

I have brought faith in God and the Messenger, and that what the Messenger has brought from God; I love God and the Messenger and cannot stand the enemies of God and the Messenger—that is enough for salvation.²²

This man, who reached the 'greatest saintship', *al-wilāyat al-kubrā* and whose goal in life was nothing but to make the Divine Law and the mystical path blossom, who was styled by his contemporaries as *sunnitrāsh*, 'Sunnicizer', and praised by the Urdu poet Mir as 'saintly, purified, dervish, scholar, perfect, incomparably renowned in the world, honoured and respected' had yet enemies against whom he fought relentlessly. These were the Shiites. Mazhar went so far as to write a defense of Mu'awiya, most hated by the Shia, because he revered him as a companion of the Prophet. When he ridiculed a Muharram procession in January 1781 (he was then 82 years old), he was killed by a fanatic Shia and died without disclosing his murderer's name. He left behind him the well established Naqshbandi suborder of the Mazhariyya Shamsiyya and a handful of poems in Urdu and Persian, for 'although poetry writing is beneath his lofty rank he at times turned to this useless art', as Mir states. Mazhar was regarded as one of the four 'Pillars of Urdu literature' in spite of his rather small poetical output and despite Sauda's sarcastic remark that he was like 'the washerman's dog, belonging neither to the house nor to the ghat'. But this remark is certainly born out of religious hatred, for Sauda, the great satirist of Urdu, was a devout Shia to whom literature owes more than a hundred powerful *marthiyas* in honour of the martyrs of Kərbela, and who later migrated to Oudh, where the Shia family of the Persian-born Nawwab Sa'adat expanded their power.

The third outstanding Delhi mystic of the 18th century was Khwaja Mir Dard, another 'Pillar of Urdu', since he for the first time composed mystical lyrics in the recently developing literary language of the *urdū-yi mu'allā*, the

²¹ Quraishi, *Mazhar Janjānān*, p. 258; s.a. Y. Friedmann, 'Medieval Muslim Views on Indian Religions', *JAOS* 95, 2, 1975.

²² Quraishi, *Mazhar*, p. 157.

Sublime Porte. Few readers of his tender verses know that they are only the fringe of a large work in Persian in which Dard expounded the teachings of his father, Nasir Muhammad 'Andalib. Dard was born in 1721 and never left his home town—first he was the faithful disciple of his father, then became a mystic in his own right who was granted heavenly inspirations, *wāridāt*. The verses thus 'received' were interpreted by him in a comprehensive commentary, completed in 1770 as *ʿIlm ul-kitāb*. The 111 chapters of this book are a veritable encyclopedia of Dard's mystical claims. Although as a Naqshbandi he rejected Ibn 'Arabi's *waḥdat al-wujūd*, he, as his contemporaries, could not help using the terminology coined by the Magister Magnus. (One of his poet-friends even translated Ibn 'Arabi's *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam* into Urdu verse...²³) Each chapter of *ʿIlm ul-kitāb* begins with an invocation of his father, *Nāṣir*, for after Nasir Muhammad had disclosed in the end of his *Nāla-i 'Andalib* the identity of the nightingale, i.e., himself, 'Andalib, with the Prophet, Dard took up this mystery of identification and built his theories around it. Thus he developed the traditional Sufi ideas of the threefold *fanā*—annihilation in the *shaikh*, in the Prophet, and in God and the final stage, *baqā*, 'remaining in God' by adding the 'descending semicircle', i.e., 'remaining in the Prophet' and 'remaining in the *shaikh*' which, according to him, is even loftier than the ascending semicircle. In *baqā fī'l-shaikh*, one is surrounded by the three levels of Divine light, and this is

the terminating rank which God almighty has kept for the Pure Muhammadans, whereas all the others with all their power cannot be honoured by it.

That means, this station was exclusively given to him whose parents were both *sayyid* and whose father had attained union with the Prophet's spirit besides being his descendant. Small wonder that some mystics in Delhi would not believe Dard's claim to have reached a rank that was reserved only for himself! Even more, in some of the auditions which he noted down in Arabic in the midst of the Persian text of *ʿIlm ul-kitāb*, he tells how God invested him with more lofty qualities and with 99 names and how he, after wandering through the stages of all the great prophets,

knows through Gabriel's help without mediation of sciences written in books, and he eats with Michael's help without outward secondary causes, and he breathes through Israfil's breath and loosens the parts of his body and collects them in every moment, and he sleeps and awakes every day and is drawn toward death every moment by 'Azra'il's attraction. God created him as a complete person in respect to reason, lower soul, spirit and body, and as a place of manifestation of all His names and the manifestations of His attributes, and as He made him vice-gerent on earth in general for humanity in general, so He also made him the vice-gerent of His vice-gerent on the carpet of specialization...²⁴

²³ Maulana Abdul Hayy Nadwi, *Gul-i ra'nā*, Azamgarh 1364h/1945, p. 111.

²⁴ Dard, *ʿIlm ul-kitāb*, Delhi 1310 h/1892-3, p. 504 f. See A. Schimmel, 'A Sincere Muham-

The modern reader feels slightly uncomfortable when thinking of the various vice-gerents of the Prophet who claimed highest religious authority at the same time and in the same place. That may be one reason why Dard never mentions the names of his colleagues in his work. But all of them were wise enough not to call themselves *mahdi*, although their statements about their spiritual achievements are certainly superior to those of a man like Sayyid Muhammad of Jaunpur, and although northwest India, during their lifetime, was exposed to an almost apocalyptic experience.

Ilm ul-kitab is not Dard's only major work; four spiritual diaries, beginning in 1775, allow us to follow his thought almost to the day of his death (January 11, 1785). His last prayer is Muhammad's prayer for light, cherished by generations of Muslims. After attaining complete identification with his father Dard was convinced that he would die at the same age as he, and indeed, he, too, passed away at 66 lunar years, 66 being the numerical value of the word *Allah*... Dard's diaries only rarely allow a glimpse at the troubled-situation in Delhi, 'where now tears flow instead of rivers'; he saw the only remedy for the disastrous situation in calling people to the *ṭarīqa muḥammadiyya*.

Dard became especially famous through the mystical concerts which he, contrary to the stern Naqshbandi tradition, arranged in his house; they were visited once in a while even by Shah 'Alam II Aftab. From some scattered remarks one understands that his mystical colleagues minded this deviation from the Naqshbandi practice, but, as he reasons, since the musicians come without being invited, what can he do? Their coming must be God's will... His strictly 'Muhammadan' attitude did not prevent him from having many Hindu friends, particularly among the pupils whom he trained not in Sufism but in Urdu poetry. And although a later biographer thinks that his abstinence and patience in the days of hunger, war, and pillaging, and his strength in fasting and prayer was such 'that Farid Ganj-i Shakar would have bitten his finger like sugarcane in amazement', Dard was one of the few mystics who openly stated, 'I love my wife and children dearly'.

Dard's mystical poetry in Urdu is sweet and melancholy, and miniature-like in its preciseness and preciousness. Taking up the Prophetic tradition, 'Men are asleep, and when they die they awake', he wrote his famous line:

Woe! Ignorant man—at the time
of death this truth will be proved:
A dream was whatever we saw,
whatever we heard was a tale.

madan's way to salvation', in S. F. G. Brandon Memorial Volume, *Man and his Salvation*, Manchester 1973, and id., *Pain and Grace*, Leiden 1976, Part I, for an analysis of his thought and poetry.

But he reached the point that he recognized the Unity behind the multiplicity of forms:

Pain and happiness have the same shape in this world:
You may call the rose an open heart, or a broken heart...

* * *

When one reads of the terrible destructions that occurred during the mid-18th century in northwest India, and for which Nadir Shah and Ahmad Shah Abdali are responsible, one wonders why Iqbal allotted these two rulers a special place in Paradise in his visionary poem *Javidname*. But it seems that they—particularly Ahmad Abdali—represented for him the spirit of *jihad* against the infidels and the personification of permanent struggle which, as he thought, was required in order to achieve perfection of one's self. Shortly before Iqbal deals with them, and with Tipu Sultan of Mysore, he leads his readers to an ocean of blood in the sphere of Saturn (since long the planet of misfortune, called in Persian poetical language 'the Hindu of the Sky'); there, two traitors to their nations appear: Ja'far of Bengal and Sadiq of the Deccan, and India's spirit, recalling their role in Muslim history, laments in heart-rending verses.

Indeed, Ja'far's role in the history of the 18th century was quite obnoxious. Bengal had always been a difficult province to rule, and had broken away from the central authority in Delhi time and again. Under Akbar it became a *šābah* of the Moghul Empire, ruled during the mid-17th century by Shah Jahan's second son, Shah Shuja', a Shia, who built the huge *Husaini dān* in 1642. Movements for a renewed independence began at the time of Aurangzeb's death. Murshid Quli Khan, a converted Brahman, who acted as governor (*šābadār*), established an orderly administration and built his residence in Murshidabad on the Bhagirathi river (1704). Calcutta, where the British East India Company had settled in 1688, grew into a flourishing port; many foreign ships came there under British flag, using the concessions of the Company. Murshid Quli Khan was succeeded by 'Ali Wirdi Khan from Turco-Arabic extraction, a good administrator who got along well with the Hindu bankers, while his grandson Nawwab Sirajuddaula antagonized this important element by some administrative measures. Sirajuddaula, a pious Muslim, erected a large *imāmbāra* in Murshidabad, excluding Hindus from the participation in the construction to preserve the purity of the building; its centre, the *Madīna*, was filled six feet deep with earth from the sacred soil of Mecca. Hundreds of *ta'ziyas*, flags, images of Buraq, and other items used for Muharram filled the building which still exists.²⁷

²⁷ See A. H. Dani, *Muslim Architecture in Bengal*, p. 274. For the Shia influence in

One of Sirajuddaula's officers was Mir Ja'far, an adventurer who, like many others, sought fortune at the court. He became *bakhshī*, paymaster, but was removed from office in 1752. In the course of the next years he approached the British and succeeded in arranging a secret treaty with Lord Clive. During the battle of Plassey in 1757, when 3000 Europeans defeated some 120,000 Bengali soldiers, he treacherously advised the Nawwab to yield. As a reward the British made him Nawwab in the place of Sirajuddaula, who was murdered a few days after the battle. Mir Ja'far's son-in-law, Mir Qasim, in turn conspired with the British against him in 1760.

Plassey was the first victory of the British; it enabled them to extend their influence to Bihar, obtaining the revenue grants from, and acquiring legal status in, three of the eastern provinces of India in 1764. Shah 'Alam II, then a fugitive living in Bihar, legalized the Company by giving it the right to collect revenues in return for an annuity of 2 1/2 million rupees. In 1765 Clive settled this arrangement in the treaty at Allahabad, and with Warren Hastings (1774-1785) taking office the British influence waxed stronger everywhere. The name of Mir Ja'far, who is considered responsible for the disaster of Plassey, is still anathema for nationalist Muslims.

The situation in Bengal was closely connected with that in the Deccan. The Marathas, rising and expanding constantly from the days of Shivaji (d. 1680) had extended their power to the borders of Bengal, but formed a major threat for the Deccan. Nizamulmuluk Asaf Jah, the influential statesman from a Turani family with Sufi leanings, chose Hyderabad as his capital when he retired for long periods from the restless Delhi court to build up his hegemony in the South. While in Delhi the rivalries between the Nizam's faction and the Shia Nawwab viziers of Oudh proved disastrous for the Empire, the Nizam was confronted in the Deccan not only with the Marathas but also with both British and French: the British had owned a factory in Masulipatam since 1611; the French had settled in Pondicherry first in 1671; this port was ceded to them in 1750. Asaf Jah died in 1748; his son, Nasir Jung, appointed as his successor, was assassinated at the instance of the French, whereupon the Marathas interfered in Deccani politics in 1750. Hyderabad had to cede some territories to them, too.

The historian and minister of the Nizam's court, Samsamuddaula Shah Nawaz Khan, was also involved in the struggle for power. His *Ma'athir al-umarā* is a useful chronicle of political life in the late 17th and early 18th centuries in the Deccan. When the author was murdered by French soldiers

Murshidabad see EI, I. ed., III 743, s.v. Muhammad Muhsin al-Hajji (1730-1812), who left his whole fortune to the Shia community.

and his house was looted in 1758, his faithful friend Azad Bilgrami collected his notes for this valuable chronicle and completed them. This Azad—'al-Husaini al-Wasiti al-Bilgrami, may God coax for him the gazelles of desire, and bend toward him the branches of protection!'—²⁸ was one of the outstanding scholars of 18th century India. Born in 1704 in a family of scholars the *sayyid* performed the pilgrimage to Mecca in 1738, just before Nadir Shah's invasion; he studied *ḥadīth* with Muhammad Hayat as-Sindi who had been Shah Waliullah's teacher. On his return in 1740 he settled in Aurangabad and composed numerous books—from highflown Arabic panegyrics for the Prophet, which earned him the title *Ḥassān al-Hind*, to commentaries on Prophetic traditions, from biographical works to elegant Persian verse, especially chronograms. His most interesting work is *Subḥat al-marjān*, an Arabic study in which he tries to prove that India is the true homeland of Prophetic tradition and which, thus, contrasts with the usual emphasis that Indian scholars lay upon the importance of their Arabic heritage. Azad takes great pains to show India's prime role in Islamic history—did not Adam spend the first years of his life on earth in Sarandib (Ceylon) which is part of India? The book also contains biographical sketches of important Muslim scholars in India and tries to establish a relation between Sanskrit and Arabic rhetoric and poetry. Thus, it strikes us as a touching attempt to prove the Indian-ness of the Muslims.

It may be mentioned at random that another scholar from Bilgram and pupil of Shah Waliullah chose to leave India due to the distressing circumstances and gained fame as commentator and philologist in the Arab world: Sayyid Murtaza, known after his first dwelling-place abroad as 'az-Zabidi', is the author of the great Arabic dictionary *Tāj al-ʿarūs* and of the most extensive commentary on Ghazzali's *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm ad-dīn*.

Azad Bilgrami died in 1784, at a time when the Nizam's government was drawing closer to the British, with whom they had concluded a treaty in 1766. Some later flirtations with the French were terminated by the treaty of 1798, when a British Resident was placed in Hyderabad. The country remained allied to the British even during the Revolt of 1857. This pro-British attitude of the Nizams complicated the situation in South-India where the main struggle for Muslim supremacy is connected with the names of Haidar 'Ali of Mysore and his son Tipu Sultan. Haidar 'Ali was a soldier of fortune who claimed descent from the Quraish; his father had come to Golkonda in 1727,

²⁸ This pious wish is countered by Azad's adversary in the Carnatic, Maulana Baqir Agha (d. 1805): 'Azad Bilgrami, who has made his brain the nest of the crow 'haughtiness' and 'conceit' and who hunts with the net of spiderish stages the fly 'wrong assumption', thinking that it is a gazelle...' (Kokan, *Arabic and Persian in Carnatic*, p. 199).

where he married the daughter of a *nawab* merchant—that group of Arabs who had settled first in Konkan and then in the Carnatic, and members of whose group were then ruling in the Carnatic. In 1759 Haidar 'Ali served in the army that interfered in the war of succession in Hyderabad, and when Nasir Jung was assassinated his treasures fell into the hands of the French and their officer, Haidar 'Ali. The use of firearms and an acquaintance with French methods of warfare were important for his later martial successes. The kingdom of Mysore, part of Aurangzeb's empire, ruled for all practical purposes by two Brahman brothers, soon became a bone of contention between the Nizam and the Marathas. Haidar 'Ali sided with the Mysore rulers, relieved Bangalore and other places from the Marathas, and finally conquered Seringapatam in 1761, the year when Ahmad Shah defeated the Marathas at Panipat. Haidar 'Ali's invasion of Malabar in 1767 was stopped by the united forces of the Nizam and the Marathas. The Zamorin of Malabar, whose ancestor two centuries prior had supported the Muslims against the Portuguese, refused submission to Haidar 'Ali's troops and burned himself in his house in Kalikut—a port that had become the major Portuguese trade centre for export of woven fabrics ('calico'). The French supplied Haidar 'Ali with weapons; but the pro-British policy of Nawwab Muhammad 'Ali Wala Jah of the Carnatic (d. 1795), a pious member of the Qadiriyya order and great patron of Islamic learning, rendered the situation difficult for him. After all, Madras had been an important seat of the Company since 1640, when Fort St. George was built, where the British in the 18th century opened an Arabic *madrasa* to win the loyalty of the Muslims; they also set up a printing press where the first weekly appeared in 1785. Nevertheless, the indigenous powers in the Deccan formed a short-lived confederacy against the British in 1779; soon after this alliance broke up, Haidar 'Ali died of cancer (1782). In spite of his illiteracy he was a good organizer who ruled on simple, practical lines; but first and foremost he was an intrepid soldier.

So was his son Tipu Sultan, born in 1750 and named after a saint in Arcot. The boy had some education; he even wrote some 96 Urdu *ghazals* which children in his schools had to sing. In one of them he claims:

When the Marathas see the Sultan's army,
fear seizes them and they run away like does;
The Europeans and Nizamulmulk pass the night
together in fear of the Sultan...
Socrates and Hippocrates and all the wise of the world
are nothing but fools in his presence;
The Sultan's justice is so great that he does in the jungle

take lions and tigers as cushions,
And leopards and panthers for their mattresses...²⁸

—the last line a typical eschatological claim of the 'King of Peace'.

After his father's death Tipu Sultan tried to establish solid Muslim rule in the Deccan, an attempt which involved numerous fights with the British, the Marathas, and his neighbours. To get support from abroad he wrote to France, but Louis XVI, understandably, did not want to get entangled in Indian politics; 'Abdulhamid I, the Sultan-caliph of Turkey, to whom he sent an envoy, recognized him as an independent king while a later embassy to Selim III returned with the warning not to rely upon the French, since Napoleon had invaded Egypt as an enemy of the Muslims. In his violently anti-British attitude, Tipu Sultan even acknowledged the achievements of the French Revolution and called himself, in 1798, 'Citizen Tipu'. In 1792 the British besieged his capital, Seringapatam on the Kavri river, for the first time; in 1799 they finally conquered the city, and Tipu was killed in the midst of his troops.

Tipu Sultan has been described in contradictory terms—the British hated him for his stubborn resistance;²⁹ the Hindus claimed that his zeal for Islamization had led him, like his father, to force circumcision upon Hindus, while Muslim writers, headed by Iqbal, have seen him as the 'martyr Sultan' who almost singlehandedly fought against the British to save South India for Islam. Tipu tried to reform the administration in conformity with the *shari'a*; he wanted army and people to follow the rules of conduct laid down in Koran and *hadith*,³⁰ and saw himself and his army constantly involved in *jihād*—hence the title of his army manual, *Fath al-mujāhidīn*, as his rhymed Persian sermons were called *Muʿayyid al-mujāhidīn*. He organized trade and industry; had factories erected and the silk industry developed, and was one of the few Indo-Muslim rulers who realized the importance of sea-power. Strange ideas came to pass from him, such as the change of the calendar into a *maulūd-i muḥammadi*, which counted, however, not from the Prophet's birth but from the time he was called out as Prophet, 609. Taking over the Hindu cycle of sixty years and the Hindu months, Tipu gave them names according

²⁸ Garcin de Tassy, *Histoire de la littérature Hindoue et Hindoustani*, Paris 1870-72, III p. 231.

²⁹ He had constructed a huge artificial tiger which, by some mechanism, could maul a British Officer who was lying beneath him. This 'toy', in the British Museum, is described by Mildred Archer, *Tippoo's Tiger*, London 1959.

³⁰ A Ms. in the India Office Library, *Ahkām un-nisā*, by one Sayyid Ghulam Ahmad (P. 2135), written during Tipu's reign in Dakhni Urdu, reflects this strong Islamic emphasis: 'It is unlawful to marry or even to partake of food and drink with, a Muhammadan woman who is not acquainted with the prescribed rules regarding prayer, fasting, and the purificatory rites connected with the menstrual discharges and childbirth'.

to the *abjad* and *abtath* system, all with more or less religious significance;¹² even his coins were called after the caliphs (half gold *mohur*: *Ṣiddīqī*, *greatest silver coin*: *Ḥaidarī*, etc.) or after the Shia *imāms*. In a notebook, now in the India Office, he scribbled down in a 'fearful *shikasta*'¹³ thirty-seven dreams which he had between 1785 and 1798 and which largely deal with warfare, conquest, the expulsion of the British; but also with religious topics such as his performing the *hajj*, or meeting great Islamic poets (Sa'di and Jami) or saints, mainly of the Naqshbandi *silsila*. A dream connected with Gesudaraz Bandanawaz, to whom his family had a longstanding attachment, may serve as an example:

(3. Shawwal 1218): I saw coming two aged holy persons, both being brothers, with luggage and provisions. They told me they had come according to the orders of Hazrat Bandanawaz who had sent certain sacred relics. Then they gave me a few pieces from the covers of the Ka'ba, the Madina-i munawwara and the tomb of Hazrat Bandanawaz, a copy of the Holy Koran and some sugar-candy. I took the sacred relics and raised them to my head. I then opened the Koran and found it was written in a beautiful hand. Every page of the Koran had the name of the scribe written on it. On some of the pages I noticed the names of Hazrat Bandanawaz and other saints. Both the holy persons said to me that this copy of the Holy Koran had been written by several saints and calligraphists and that Hazrat Bandanawaz used to recite constantly from this copy. The saint had done a great favour, they added, by sending this copy for me. They also pointed out that they themselves were from among the descendants of Hazrat Bandanawaz and it was their custom to recite the *fātiha* at his tomb and to offer sacrifices around it. Then I read those verses (of the Holy Koran) which had been inscribed in fine handwriting on the gate of the tomb. At this point I woke up. The same afternoon I offered *fātiha* in the name of Hazrat Bandanawaz on eleven cauldrons of sweets (Nr. 8).

Tipu's strict Muslim attitude is always clearly expressed in these dreams; for example he dreams of *three kāfirs*—the British, the Maratha and the Nizam who, though his coreligionist, stands outside the pale of Islam by associating himself with infidels. Small wonder that in one dream the Prophet sent him a message through 'Alī that he would not set foot in Paradise without him! Even though Iqbal did not know these dreams of the 'martyr Sultan' he has woven a fine scene around him in the *Javidnāma*, based on a saying of Tipu Sultan that 'one day of a lion's life is better than hundred years of a jackal's'.

* * *

With Tipu Sultan's death in 1799 British supremacy in the Deccan became firmly established; and, as they approached the Delhi scene from the East, they also slowly interfered with the western provinces of India, the most

¹² The *abjad* follows the numerical values of letters in the order of the old Semitic alphabet, the *abtath* follows the present day order of the Arabic alphabet. Thus the letter *kh* would be 600 according to *abjad*, and 7 according to *abtath*.

¹³ Mahmud Husain, *The Dreams of Tipu Sultan*, Karachi s.d., p. 9.

ancient seats of Islam in India, Sind and the Punjab. The two provinces had suffered more than others under the invading armies from the Afghan mountains, and both Nadir Shah and Ahmad Shah Abdali occupied large areas in the lower part of the Indus valley as well in the Punjab, where, however, Marathas and Sikhs too contested for supremacy. Some minor details may elucidate the general spiritual climate in the Indus valley.

Sind, independent under indigenous rulers and after 1520 under the Turkish dynasty of the Arghuns, was one of the first targets of Portuguese attacks in 1555, when the capital, Thatta, was largely destroyed; in 1592 the country was annexed by Khankhanan 'Abdurrahim to the Moghul Empire, but the Tarkhan princes, who had succeeded the Arghuns in 1556, were largely left to themselves, referring to Delhi only in difficult situations. After Aurangzeb's death, Sind too underwent a period of troubles caused by a religious movement which, though small, is typical for a certain trend in Sufism. It is connected with Shah 'Inayat Shahid (1655-1718), 'the desert-crossing gazelle of the mystical path, the wine-cellar of Unity... the pilot to the realms of selflessness...'¹⁴ who belonged to Jhok, a former centre of the Mahdawīyya. Related through family members to the Suhrawardi *silsila* in Uech, he attained mystical perfection in the Deccan through the influential Burhanpur school of Sufism. On his return via Delhi to Thatta he aroused the wrath of the Naqshbandis because he permitted his disciples to prostrate themselves before him (*sijda-i ta'zim*). Retiring to Jhok Shah 'Inayat attracted many followers, not only dervishes but also poor peasants. The *sayyids* of the neighbouring town of Bulri, angered by the loss of both disciples and labourers, attacked Jhok in 1715, and some of 'Inayat's followers 'graciously quaffed the wine of martyrdom'. He was granted (or perhaps took by force) some land from the Bulri *sayyids*, which he distributed to his disciples, an act that makes him in the eyes of his modern interpreters a forerunner of socialist land reform. It was easy to blackmail him in Delhi for his unusual behaviour, and in 1717 a huge army besieged Jhok for four months, largely at the instigation of the Kalhora, a clan of allegedly Abbasid pedigree from northern Sind, whose ancestor Adam, a Sufi leader, had been executed in 1558 by the governor of Multan who disliked his religious claims. One night during the siege a dervish stumbled, involuntarily cried out 'Allah!' and the dervishes, as though in a *dhikr* session, responded, thus revealing their whereabouts, and the army 'made them travel toward the station of Not-being'. Shah 'Inayat was executed after a discussion with the Moghul governor in which he, typical of the prevailing attitude of the Sufis, defended himself with verses from the *Diwān*

¹⁴ Quoted in A. Schimmel, 'Shah Inayat Shahid', in *Liber Amicorum*, Leiden 1969.

of Hafiz, a book that was considered by many Indian mystics as next in importance to the Koran and Rumi's *Mathnawī*. 'Inayat's disciple Mir Janullah, a Suhrawardi poet who is buried in a mausoleum with exquisite woodwork in Rohri, praised him in an exuberant *qaṣṣida*; but most of his later followers were Hindus who also composed poetry in his memory. Though not important as a mystical thinker, Shah 'Inayat is an interesting example of 'religious communism' which was directed against the growing power of the *sayyids*, who had changed from religious leaders into politically influential feudal lords.

The Kalhora who began to oppose Moghul troops in 1658, extended their rule over Sind since 1701; they had to surrender the West bank of the Indus to Nadir Shah; later, Muhammad Shah of Delhi ceded Upper Sind to Ahmad Shah Abdali. Nevertheless, it was during their reign that both ecstatic poets like Shah 'Abdullatif Bhita'i and sober Naqshbandi preachers like Makhdum Muhammad Hashim achieved their greatest success in Sind. The compatriots of the Kalhora, the Daudpotra family from Shikarpur, who also claimed Abbasid descent, extended their power in course of time to Multan and founded what later became the state of Bahawalpur which acceded to Pakistan in 1947.

Since the Kalhora acted not only as political but also as religious leaders, they had a large following among a Baloch clan, the Talpur, whose majority was Shia, contrary to the general Balochi tradition. One of the last acts of the Kalhora was the foundation of the city of Hyderabad in 1768; in 1783 they were overthrown by their Talpur disciples after long feuds. One of the Kalhora princes, Sarfaraz Khan, (d. 1775) is noted for a touching hymn in honour of the Prophet which he wrote in prison. Under the Talpurs, Sind slowly opened to the British. The British East India Company, which used the country as a glacis during the first Afghan War, gained a decisive victory over the Talpurs in 1843 and annexed Sind. The pro-British Mir 'Ali Murad—one of the three lines of the Talpur house who reigned jointly—continued reigning in the small state of Khairpur, which existed till 1947. Sind, and especially the Hyderabad area, is full of tombs of the princes of both dynasties; the tile work on the Talpur tombs is of remarkable beauty, and the railing in some of the shrines contains pious ejaculations cut in the marble in Kufic characters.

One event during those years that was to yield important results in the long run was the Agha Khan's arrival in Sind in 1840. Hasan 'Ali Shah, who had gained the favour of the Qajar ruler Fath 'Ali Shah in 1817 and was married to one of his daughters, revolted in 1838 and left Iran to settle in Sind, where he rendered valuable service to Sir Charles Napier, the British commander. He then went to Bombay, and after a number of lawsuits, the judgment of Sir Joseph Arnold in favour of his claims provided him with the basis on which

his successors could develop their influence and work for the amelioration of the Khoja Isma'ilis, who had lived in the Subcontinent and especially the Sind-Gujarat area for many centuries. After British annexation Sind became part of the Bombay Presidency (1849) and soon a remarkable literary activity set in in this province. The religious life, led by the Pirs of various orders, continued almost unchanged into the 20th century.

Different was the situation for the Muslims in the Punjab. Lahore was reached by the Marathas in 1758, and they strove for complete supremacy in the Punjab. On the other hand, the Sikhs, largely a Panjabi-speaking community, occupied parts of the territory. Ahmad Shah Abdali had defeated the Marathas in 1761, but the following years brought continuous feuds between these two great powers. The Afghans too tried to interfere once in a while; finally in 1798 Lahore was given by Ahmad Shah Abdali's grandson, Zaman Khan, to the Sikh leader Ranjit Singh, who conquered Amritsar, the Holy City of the Sikhs, in 1802. One year later the defeat of the Marathas at the hand of Lord Lake further facilitated the expansion of Ranjit Singh, helped by the French general J. F. Allard. He soon extended his rule over the whole Punjab but was wise enough never to fight with the British. The Sutlej was fixed as the border between his and the British-occupied areas. After Ranjit Singh's death in 1839 the usual wars of succession set in, and the British East India Company took over the Punjab in 1849.

* * *

Quite different, though again ending in British supremacy, was the development in Oudh, the province east of Delhi which lay beyond the grip of Persians and Afghans and therefore developed into an area with a very specific culture. Oudh itself had been Islamicized rather early; the tomb of Salar Mas'ud is the oldest memorial of religious conquest. From Qutbuddin Aibek to Muhammad Tughluq it was part of the Delhi Sultanate. In the late 14th century it was annexed by the Sharqis of Jaunpur but reintegrated into the Delhi Sultanate under the Lodis, gaining special importance during the Suri interregnum. Thus Sa'adat Khan, a Nishapuri who became Nawwab vizier of Oudh in 1723, could rely upon a long Muslim tradition.

Part of this tradition was the scholarly eminence of Lucknow. In 1691 Aurangzeb had granted the buildings of the so-called Fira'ngi Mahal to Maulana Nizamuddin (d. 1748) from a well-known scholarly family that claimed descent from 'Abdullah-i Ansari of Herat. He developed the *Dār ul-ʿulūm* and introduced a new syllabus which was somewhat more flexible than the medieval one that had been in use for centuries in the *madrasas*. Contrary

to the Delhi *madrasas*, which grew into repositories of *ḥadīth* studies under the influence of 'Abdulhaqq Muhaddith and later Shah Waliullah and his sons, Firangi Mahal had a bias towards more theoretical studies such as *kalām*, *fiqh*, and philosophy.²² Persian instruction led to the study of the complicated poems of the masters of the Indian style, a fact that fits into the general picture of Lucknow as the centre of an extremely refined culture in every sphere of life. During the period of the Nawwabs of Oudh the institution produced many fine scholars, among whom Maulana Nizamuddin's son 'Abdul'ālī is best known. This scholar, soon called *Baḥr al-ʿulūm*, the 'Ocean of Sciences' because of his immense knowledge, was born in Lucknow in 1731. He left his hometown, taught for some time at Ḥafiz Rahmat Khan's *madrasa* in Rampur, and finally settled in Madras in 1789 (allegedly accompanied by 600 scholars); there, the Nawwab of the Carnatic, Muhammad 'Alī Khan Wala Jah, whose pro-British attitude had disturbed Tipu Sultan's politics, appointed him professor in the *Madrasa-i kālān* with a monthly salary of 1000 rupees, an enormously high sum in those days. The 'King of Scholars' died in Madras in 1810. He is noted for his almost innumerable commentaries and scholia in the fields of logic, philosophy, and *fiqh*, but also for his mystical studies, among which the commentary on Maulana Rumi's *Mathnawī* is regarded as outstanding, although the scholar tended to interpret everything in the light of Ibn 'Arabi's theosophy, since 'he had complete trust in Ibn 'Arabi's *Fuṣūṣ* and *Futūḥāt*', as he himself admitted. He was one of the last mystical writers in this vein.

Baḥr al-ʿulum had left Lucknow as a result of the tensions between Sunnis and Shiites, for with the growing power of the Nawwabs the Shia became the predominant sect in Oudh. Amjad 'Alī (d. 1847) later appointed a Shia *muftī*, so that Shia law was valid for the whole province except for cases where both litigants were Sunnis, or one Hindu and one Sunni.

Sa'adat Khan organized his province fairly well; he adorned Lucknow with a number of important buildings, among them the *Machī Bhawan*, called after the fish emblem which was to become the escutcheon of the dynasty of Oudh. But the Nawwab's role during Nadir Shah's invasion was detrimental to the Muslims because he exited Nadir Shah's greed and thus became—unwillingly—instrumental in the pillage of Delhi; he himself died suddenly under mysterious circumstances. His sister's son, Safdar Jang, whose pretty mausoleum is known to every visitor of Delhi, continued to serve the Moghul emperor as vizier. His son and successor Shuja'uddaula moved to Faizabad (1765). His name is connected with the Rohilla war.

²² The full syllabus is given in Z. H. Faruqi, *The Deoband School and the Demand for Pakistan*, Bombay 1963, p. 28 ff.

Around 1740, the Rohilla, an Afghan clan, in Rohilkand north of Rampur built up their power with the military skill characteristic of the Pathans. Safdar Jang regarded them as potential danger and asked for Maratha support against them; but the nobility, headed by theologians like Shah Waliullah, saw in the Rohilla chief Najibuddaula the only reliable soldier to cope with the Maratha, Sikhs, and other groups. He indeed cooperated with Ahmad Shah Abdali, and it was only after his death in 1770 that Shah 'Alam II dared to return to Delhi from his exile in Allahabad. The longstanding enmity of the Nawwabs of Oudh against the Rohillas (which was also an expression of Shia-Sunni rivalry) and the claim of the Marathas for Rohilkand finally led to a war in which the British sided with the Nawwabs. In 1774, the Rohilla chief Hafiz Rahmat Khan, a man praised for his noble qualities, was killed in battle: he was a pious Muslim who strictly followed the *shari'a* and performed many supererogatory works of piety, such as keeping ten days seclusion in Ramadan and distributing bread and sherbet during Muharram, a month in which he also invited some *sayyids* to serve them with his own hand. Similar distributions were arranged during the first twelve days of Rabi' al-awwal in memory of the Prophet's death. Hafiz Rahmat Khan attracted a number of poets and scholars (including Bahr al-'ulum); after his death his library, which contained rare Persian and Pashto manuscripts, was brought to Lucknow. Some of his descendants occupied themselves with literature in Urdu and Pashto.³⁶ One family member, Faizullah, received Rampur as fief, which developed into an important seat of learning. In the second half of the 19th century the Nawwabs of Rampur converted to the Shia faith.

Shuja'uddaula opened his province to foreigners. He employed French mercenaries, and the British painter Tilly Kettle reached Faizabad in 1772 to produce valuable portraits of the Nawwab and some members of the European colony. Shuja'uddaula died in 1775. After his death, his mother and widows, the Begums of Oudh, who had built a large *imāmbāra*, became involved in complicated lawsuits in which the British interfered; Shuja'uddaula's son Asafuddaula (1775-1797) finally moved the capital back from the flourishing city of Faizabad to Lucknow.

Asafuddaula is known as great builder and patron of poets and artists, for he was determined to make Lucknow more splendid than Hyderabad, the residence of his Deccani rivals. His main achievement in architecture is the great *imāmbāra* which was erected in 1784, partly to relieve the poverty-

³⁶ Among his descendants, Mahabbat Khan is noted as a fertile writer in Urdu, and Mustajab Khan Bahadur gave an account of the Rohilla achievements in his *Gulistan-i rahmat*, English translation (abridged) by Ch. Elliott, London 1831. See A. Schimmel, 'Classical Urdu Literature', p. 195.

stricken people who needed work during a long famine. The building, ca. 65 m. long and 18 m. wide, is adorned with verandas and octagonal apartments on each side. Here the Muharram celebrations took place; and in the course of time hundreds of *ta'ziya*, large and small, were stored in this building, many of them made of gold, silver, and crystal, as well as standards which bore the fish emblem of the ruling house. The pious could even admire the very crest that had belonged to Husain and had been dug out by a pious pilgrim from the sacred earth of Kerbelā. It is said that Asafuddaula spent 60,000 rupees on a single Muharram, and this large-scale expenditure was continued if not surpassed by his successors for whom Muharram on the one hand, and amusement on the other seems to have constituted the very essence of their lives.

Oudh and Bengal were fools' paradises comparable to lusciously ripened mangoes, about to topple from the tree. Hungry and eager, the British waited, hands outstretched.³⁷

They indeed had had a permanent resident in Lucknow since 1773 and took advantage of the constantly disordered finances. In 1801, Nawwab Sa'adat 'Ali Khan ceded half of his territories to the British, who, seeing the Nawwab's disinterest in practical matters, finally cemented their influence by creating (in 1819) Sa'adat 'Ali's son Ghaziuddin Haidar king of Oudh—a kind of counterbalance to the more 'hallowed' power of the Moghul emperor in Delhi.

Ghaziuddin Haidar was an enterprising monarch who built another *imāmbāra* in Lucknow and was lucky enough to receive a footprint of the Prophet, for which he erected a special building. He wrote some Urdu poems in honour of the twelve Imams which, as the sarcastic cataloguer of the Oudh Library, the Austrian Aloys Sprenger, writes 'were so bad as to bear internal evidence that they are genuine productions of a king'.³⁸ Ghaziuddin also set up the first letter-press for Arabic in India, in which he had printed a number of Arabic and Persian books in elegant typography. The first one was *Manāqib al-haidariyya*, an Arabic work in *maqāma*-style dedicated to him, in which the ingenious author, Ahmad ibn Muhammad al-Yamani, tells anecdotes and describes poetically a Muharram procession in which even the ruler's favourite elephant trumpets:

Waaah Husaināāah, waaah Husaināāāah, wāāāah Husain...!

The festivities, which have been colourfully described by Mrs. Meer Hasan Ali in her valuable Memoirs, culminated on Muharram 10, but were often prolonged to Safar 10 in order to celebrate the official forty days of mourning. Throughout the year, people would gather in meetings (*majlis*) to

³⁷ S. C. Welch, *Room for Wonder*, Nr. 33.

³⁸ A. Sprenger, *Catalogue of the Library of the King of Oudh*, Calcutta 1854, p. 612, Nr. 630.

listen to tales or pathetic songs about Husain's sad fate, which at times developed into actual drama, comparable to Persian *ta'ziya* plays. Some Lucknow Shias held a *sohbat* in Rabi' ath-thani against 'A'isha and 'Umar, who had deprived 'Ali of his right to be the first caliph; paper effigies of these two persons were burnt; but more serious people disapproved of this custom which could lead to riots. *Hajw-gōṛ*, satirical poetry and even prose developed out of the vilification of 'Ali's enemies and delighted the connoisseur of Urdu by its brilliant style. Scholarly disputations between Sunnites and Shiites found their expression in numerous pamphlets and books until Maulana Haidar 'Ali Faizabadi gave what was considered the best description of the Shia doctrine in his *Muntahā al-kalām*.

The strangest expression of the intense love of the Prophet's family is found in the days of Nasiruddin (d. 1837), the effeminate ruler about whom the historiographer of Lucknow, Sharar, writes:

This, combined with his religious ardour, made him revive and exaggerate the ceremonies initiated by his mother in connection with the imaginary wives of the twelve Imams and of the birth of the Imams themselves...He himself played the part of a pregnant woman...and gave birth to an imaginary child for whom the ceremonies of the sixth day after birth and the ablutions were observed in the usual way. There were so many of these ceremonies that the king was never free from them throughout the year...³⁸

This, of course, is an exceptional way of expressing one's religious feelings, and one can appreciate the anti-Shia attitude of some Sunni theologians as one understands that the British used the time to strengthen their position—for how could the king, busy as he was with giving birth to imaginary children, care for politics? Unfortunately he and his successors did not care also for the treasures collected by Asafuddaula—Sprenger's description of the conditions of the once so wonderful library which he had to catalogue in 1850, shows the deplorable neglect of cultural activities by the later Lucknow kings—as much as the last ruler, the pleasure-loving Wajid 'Ali Shah, poured out his feelings in love poetry and religious verse.³⁹

One aspect of the religious life in Lucknow was, however, important for Indo-Muslim culture in general. That is the development of the *marthiya*, the dirge for Husain. The Urdu *marthiya* was invented in the Deccan; in 18th century Delhi Sauda, the leading satirist, composed more than a hundred powerful poems in memory of the martyrs of Kərbela:

Not the crescent has risen in the sky in the month of Muharram—
Risen has on the sphere the sword of affliction and grief!

³⁸ Sharar, Lucknow, *The Last Phase of an Oriental Culture*, London 1975, p. 57.

³⁹ At his court the first Urdu play, Amanat's *Indar Sabhā*, was composed, which was to form, through F. Rosen's translation into German (1892), the basis for Paul Lincke's operetta *Im Reiche des Indra*.

Sauda migrated to Lucknow and here *marthiya* گۆٲ, the art of composing elegies, developed in the first decades of the 19th century to reach maturity in the works of Anis and Dabir, who for nearly sixty years were the undisputed masters of this genre.⁴¹ Salamat ʿAli Dabir was the more learned of the two, a pious and ascetic man who filled his *marthiyas* with grand rhetorical figures and touching details, while Anis developed the art of singing the *marthiya* in a special way, and composed dirges that are softer and more lyrical than Dabir's.

The birds, like fabled Phoenix, have become rare,
The beasts dejected sit by the burning river,
Though not a wing flaps in the desolate air
The prince among the faithful alone stands there.
No shadow, hot the sun, what cruel heat!
No drop of water, and their thirst is great!⁴²

(Dabir)

The six-lined stanza, in which the *marthiya* was written after Sauda, became a semi-dramatical form and was heavily charged with emotional and religious contents. It was but natural that a few decades later the first Muslim authors to compose educational poems returned to this form which was associated with elevating thoughts. To blame the *marthiya*-writers—as has been done recently—for their tendency to describe events of 7th century Arabia in an imagery taken from the life of 19th century Indian Muslims is as unjust as to blame a Flemish painter for setting Nativity in a Dutch winter landscape. The great *marthiya* writers succeeded in creating a real relationship between the suffering heroes and the listeners, who cried, thinking of the old Shia saying that tears for Husain open the door to Paradise, and who, smarting under foreign rule, found consolation in remembering the sufferings of the Prophet's family. Thus the *marthiya* gained an important social and political function: Yazid's cruel army could be compared—be it only subconsciously—to the infidels who now ruled over the Prophet's people...

The developments in India after 1757 can be regarded as answers to the ever growing British presence in the country which became more and more visible in the legal field, thus the interference of British criminal law with the *sharʿa*, while the latter always remained in force in personal status law. The Company made Calcutta their center of administration; in 1781, Warren Hastings founded the Calcutta Madrasa as a new educational institution; three years

⁴¹ The classical study is Shibli Nu'mani, *Muwāzanat-i Anis u Dabir*, Azamgarh 1907.

⁴² Transl. Ahmed Ali, *The Golden Tradition*, New York-London 1973 p. 270.

later the Asiatic Society of Bengal was created, whose library houses more than 6,000 valuable Arabic and Persian manuscripts. Scholars like Sir William Jones and his colleagues in Fort William (built in 1696) delved into the treasures of Oriental literature, translating Persian and Sanskrit works into English and thus acquainting the West with the wonderful heritage of the East, but 'the way in which Jones treated Hindu history had important implications for the history of Muslim India. For one thing, the decline of Hindu civilization could be attributed to the Muslim conquest of India',⁴¹ and thus set the stage for a general misrepresentation of the Muslim share in Indian civilization. Others worked, in the same Fort William, to produce a simple, fluid Urdu prose which might be more useful for the British administrators and soldiers than the highly Persianized, often bombastic language of the court poets. Some Muslim authors cooperated with the British, describing for the new masters the *Huqīqathā-yi Hindustān*, 'The Realities of India' (Shafiq Aurangabadi). But while in the first generations a true interest in things Indian was prevalent among the best of the Company's members, an interest also reflected in the British writings on Indian history (beginning with Alexander Dow), the situation soon changed for the worse because India was more and more observed 'through the twin eyes of Utilitarian reason and Evangelical Religion',⁴² both aiming at a radical change in the situation of the deplorably little developed natives who would attain some perfection only by being blessed with Christian education. The social situation of the Muslims was particularly affected by the British administration. The revenue organization known as Permanent Settlement which was enforced upon the landlords and peasants in Bengal in 1793 'reduced the Muslim peasantry practically to the status of serfdom'. Practical considerations came to the foreground; in 1835 Macauley's educational reform introduced English instead of Persian as the official language and this shock to the representatives of traditional Islamic culture was followed soon by the abrogation of *waqf* land. That proved even more detrimental for Muslim education, for Muslim schools, *madrasas* and the whole set of *khānqāhs* with their widespread religious activities largely relied upon the pious foundations. W. W. Hunter, certainly not the greatest friend of the Muslims, describes the situation which resulted from the new fiscal policy of the Company:

An additional revenue of £ 300,000 a year was permanently gained by the state, representing a capital at 5% of six millions sterling. A large part of this sum was derived from lands held rent free by Musulmans or Muhammadan foundations. The panic and hatred which ensued have stamped themselves for ever on the rural records. Hundreds of ancient families were

⁴¹ Grewal, *Muslim Rule in India*, p. 21.

⁴² Spear, *Twilight*, p. 51.

ruined and the educational system of the Muslims, which was almost entirely maintained by rentfree grants, received its death-blow. The scholarly classes of the Muhammadans emerged from the eighteen years of harrying absolutely ruined.⁴⁵

Many land grants were taken away from the Muslim nobility, and the Muslims were too proud to take the low jobs which were open for 'natives'—and since they refused to participate in British education, there was barely a way open to them to attain the employment standard. The peasants were uprooted by a different social order, and 'the formerly good relations between peasant and moneylender, which were based on mutual interest and confidence, were overturned under the British administration, because the moneylender had easy recourse to a lawsuit to gain complete command over his debtor'.⁴⁶ In fact, a modern Sindhi writer claims that the long wooden boards of the Hindu moneylenders that contained all the debts the villagers incurred during the year contributed in a later period to the feeling that the Muslims needed an independent state where they were not left to the mercy of the Hindu bankers.⁴⁷—The construction of railway lines created social changes in some areas—as the construction of major barrages would do some decades later. The craftsmen were largely ruined by the British import policy—the introduction of mechanical looms in England helped destroying the famous textile industry of the Subcontinent. And the theologians bitterly resented the growth of missionary schools which the Company set up 'for the moral improvement of the Indians', cementing this attitude by appointing a bishop in Calcutta.

Since important segments of the Muslim population were suffering under the new rule, the Muslims could easily be incited to rebel against the 'infidel' government. That is why different religio-political movements sprang up in the Subcontinent almost simultaneously. One was kindled in Bengal by Hajji Shari'atullah (1781-1840), who went on pilgrimage in 1799, spent some twenty years in Mecca and returned to Bengal in 1818. His movement is known as *Farā'iziyya*, for he laid special emphasis upon the *farā'id*, the religious duties of the Muslim—the state of *qurb al-farā'id*, 'proximity to God by the punctual fulfilment of the religious duties' was regarded by the Naqshbandi reformers as closest to the Prophetic path, hence the highest possible approach to God. Shari'atullah may have been in touch with members of the Wahhabi movement; like Shah Waliullah before him and Iqbal after him, only on a less sophisticated level, he, too, highlighted the differences between pure Arabic

⁴⁵ Hunter, *The Indian Muslims, are they bound in conscience to rebel against the Queen?* London 1871.

⁴⁶ *History of the Freedom Movement*, Karachi 1957, Vol. I.

⁴⁷ Schimmel, 'Sind vor 1947', p. 62.

Islam and mixed Indian Islam. He therefore fought mainly against rites that were influenced by Hindu customs, and 'when he set his foot in Bengal, all *shirk* and *bid'at* were trampled down'.

Bengal was indeed a very fertile soil in this respect; for the love for local saints and cults and a tendency to blend various religious traditions were typical of Bengali Islam. That is true on the level of folk religion (which expressed itself in mystical songs) as well as of higher literature. There was a dearth of orthodox Sunni writings in Bengali; the first Bengali translation of the Koran appeared only in 1886 and was made by a Hindu while the first translation of the New Testament was printed as early as 1801. Hajji Shari'atullah apprehended the danger inherent in the mystical attitude, not only because it tended to blur the borders between Islam and Hinduism but also because the *pīrī murīdī*-relationship reminded him apparently too much of the *guru-chela*-relation in Hinduism. As for the Delhi reformers, for him, too, British India was *dār ul-ḥarb*; hence no community prayers on Friday and 'Id were permitted.—Shari'atullah lived among the poor peasants many of whom he indeed won over thanks to his sincerity. Later, his only son Muhammad Muhsin, known as Dudhu Mian (1819-1862) tried to organize his father's movement. He sent into the various districts of Bengal agents who had to help in the conversion activities, for his aim was to convert all Muslim villagers to his sect. Understandably the movement turned against the rich proprietors, many of whom were Hindus. Therefore the *farā'izī* movement has also been interpreted as a mere class conflict. Dudhu Mian established a system of help for poor peasants who had to go to court; he also advised them to settle on state property (*khāṣṣ mahāl*) and to pay only the legal taxes, not the dozens of taxes which their overlords imposed upon them. The landlords and indigo planters resorted to violence and invented special kinds of torture, and it was not difficult for them to prove the heterodoxy of the leader who, in turn, 'excommunicated' those Muslims who did not cooperate. And these were many; for the *Farā'iziyya* was not even accepted wholeheartedly by most Sunni Muslims. In 1838 the general excitement waxed so strong that the British feared a revolution; whenever Dudhu Mian was apprehended it was impossible to find witnesses for the prosecution. With his imprisonment the *Farā'izi* movement ended outwardly; but it had stirred up the Bengali peasants, and the country remained a centre of restlessness.

Another short-lived rebellion in Bengal flared up in 1830 under Titu Mir, whom W. W. Hunter brands as 'a professional wrestler and bully'. He had been in touch with Ahmad Shahīd (see p. 183) and tried to fight with the villagers against the landlords, enraging them particularly by killing cows in Hindu villages.

The most important propagandist of Ahmad Shahid's movement in Bengal was Maulana Karamat 'Ali Jaunpuri (d. 1873). Although he advocated the return to pure Islam, he was more mystically minded than the majority of the reformers and wrote not only treatises against the *Farā'iziyya* but also scholarly works. In this connection his late study *Ma'ākhidh al-ʿulūm*, written in 1865 as a prize essay for a competition, is interesting, for here he voiced an idea that was to become popular with Sir Sayyid and especially with Iqbal, i.e., that science passed from the Greeks to the Arabs, and from them through Spain to Europe; therefore Muslims can benefit from the intercourse with Europeans who in a certain way bring back that culture which they had inherited centuries ago from the Muslims.⁴⁴ As a reformer, Karamat 'Ali was indefatigable:

For forty years he moved up and down the elaborate river system of eastern Bengal in a flotilla of small boats, carrying the message of Islamic regeneration and reform from the Nagas in Assam to the inhabitants of Sandip and other islands in the bay of Bengal. His flotilla of country craft was like a travelling college."⁴⁵

Karamat 'Ali was thus a representative of the most important reform movement in the early 19th century which was connected with the school of Shah Waliullah and Mir Dard's *jarīqa muḥammadiyya*. Shah Waliullah's sons, Shah Rafi'uddin (1750-1818) and Shah 'Abdulqadir (1754-1815), had both continued their father's activities by translating the Koran into Urdu; parts of the *Mādih al-qur'ān* (chronogram 1205 = 1791) were published by Garcin de Tassy in his *Chrestomathie Hindoustany* (printed 1847) for the beauty of its style. The Delhi scholars may have been aware of the first attempts of Christian missionaries to translate the Bible or parts of it into Urdu. The German missionary Benjamin Schultze had produced a translation of the Psalms and the New Testament into Dakhni Urdu in the 1730's; but in the early 19th century, such attempts were an important part of British policy. Among Shah Rafi'uddin's numerous Arabic and Persian works his Persian *Qiyāmatnāma* was frequently translated into Urdu and even into Pashto.⁴⁶ The most active of Shah Waliullah's sons was the eldest, Shah 'Abdul'aziz (1746-1824), who had educated his younger brothers and had taught, like his father, in the Rahimiyya *madrassa*, disseminating the study of *ḥadīth* practically all over India through his numerous students. He also, like his father, turned to practical politics. In 1803 he issued a *fatwā* in which he officially declared as *dār ul-ḥarb* that part of India which was under British rule. For the Marathas, who had virtually ruled large parts of India during the 18th century, had not

⁴⁴ Garcin de Tassy, *Histoire* II, p. 162.

⁴⁵ S. M. Ikram, *Muslim Civilization in India*, New York 1964, p. 285.

⁴⁶ Garcin de Tassy, *Histoire*, I, p. 89.

interfered with the Islamic law because they kept up the fiction of Moghul sovereignty; but after the final defeat of the once so powerful leader Sindhia at the hands of Lord Lake in 1803 the situation had changed. Thus Shah 'Abdul'aziz proclaimed about Calcutta, the British capital:

In this city the *imām al-muslimīn* wields no authority. The real power rests with Christian officers. There is no check on them and the promulgation of the commands of *kufṛ* means that in administration and justice, in matters of law and order, in the domain of trade, finance and collection of revenues—everywhere the *kuffār* are in power. Yes, there are certain Islamic rituals, e.g. Friday and 'Id prayers, *adhān* and cow slaughter, with which they book no interference; but the very root of all these rituals is of no value to them. They demolish mosques without the least hesitation and no Muslim and any *dhimmī* can enter into the city or its suburbs but with their permission.¹¹

From this theological school, the most important *jihād* movement of the early 19th century emerged. Its initiator was Sayyid Ahmad of Rai Bareilly who claimed Hasani *sayyid*ship although the British tended to regard him as a 'bandit and freebooter'. Ahmad was born in Rai Bareilly in 1786, came via Lucknow to Delhi (1804), where he studied under Shah 'Abdul'aziz and Shah 'Abdulqadir, though without much intellectual success. For some years he was in the company of the Pindari chief Amir Khan in Rajputana, then returned to Delhi in 1817. He must have been a charismatic personality, because 'Abdul'aziz' nephew, the powerful preacher Muhammad Isma'īl (born 1781) became his main disciple, and 'Abdul'aziz' son-in-law, Maulwī 'Abdulahayy, belonged to his close friends. To the great surprise of many Muslims, the Delhi theologians supported the claims of this rather unknown, unlearned man with Muhammad Isma'īl becoming the theoretician of the new movement. Sayyid Ahmad performed the pilgrimage in 1821. After his return he began preparations for the *jihād* with the aim to overthrow the rule of the Sikhs in the Punjab. The number of those who pledged allegiance to Sayyid Ahmad grew steadily while he was wandering through India on his way toward the Northwestern Frontier. In 1826 the actual *jihād* movement started. In Sind Pir Pagaro Sibghatullah (d. 1831), whose family had just begun to play an important role in Sindhi culture and politics, gave him a cadre of his hard core dervishes, known as the *Hurr*, 'Free'; this group of dervishes was a century later to cause the British much trouble. Sayyid Ahmad's army finally reached the Peshawar area in 1827 and made their headquarters in Naushera. After achieving some positive results in their dealings with the Pathans they finally lost their support because they interfered with the tribal social order and tried, inter alia, to collect *zakāt* from them, while the tribal areas were not used to any taxation. The *jihād* ended with the death of both Sayyid Ahmad

¹¹ Transl. in Faruqi, *The Deoband School*, p. 2.

and Muhammad Isma'il (hence called *shahīd*, 'martyr') in 1831; Sayyid Ahmad's body was burnt, and since his dead body was not found, the legend of his temporal occultation developed—still thirty years later Maulana Yahya 'Ali quoted a verse by Mir Dard to prove his hope for Ahmad Shahid's reappearance.

Isma'il Shahid's numerous writings explain the fundamentals of the *mu-jahidūn* movement. The *Širāṭ al-mustaqīm* consists of the sayings of Sayyid Ahmad, theologically interpreted by his friend; the theories and ideals of the *ṭarīqa muḥammadiyya* are laid down in the Urdu work *Taqwiyat al-īmān*. One finds here the basic ideas of Isma'il's grandfather—the stress upon perfect *tauḥīd*, 'monotheism', which includes fight against innovations such as saint worship, the Muharram festivities, and the fireworks in the *shab-i barāt*, but also against social customs like abundant expenses at marriages and the taboo of the remarriage of widows as well as the abolishment of the caste-like distinctions that had coloured Indian Islam. W. W. Hunter describes the appearance of preachers of this persuasion in Bengali villages where they would tell the simple people,

that they would stun their ears with the lutes and drums of Bengali unbelievers till they were deaf to the simple truths of the Koran, and that the whole festival of the Muharram, its sham fights, its feigned mourning, its wild feasting, its mock penitence were utterly abominable to God and the Prophet...¹²

Like the first *khalīfa* of the *ṭarīqa muḥammadiyya*, Mir Dard, Ahmad Shahid represented a mystically tinged fundamentalist Islam, and distinguished, as Shah Waliullah had done (and as the 'sober' orders always did) between the *ṭarīq-i wilāyat*, the 'way of saintship' and the higher *ṭarīq-i nubuwwat*, 'way of prophetship', which find their respective expressions in *ḥubb 'ishqī*, a love that shows itself in mystical rapture, and *ḥubb Imānī*, a love which consists of faithfully following the Prophet. Isma'il Shahid wrote a small mystical *mathnawī*, *Silk an-nūr* (lith. Lucknow 1852), and in his *'Abaqāt* he proved his deep understanding of the complicated terminology of his grandfather Waliullah. Both reformers called the Muslims to '*amal ṣāliḥ*, sound and healthy work according to the God-given laws, to improve the Muslim community and its lot in this world and the next.

After the defeat of Balakot in 1831 the movement was by no means extinguished; on the contrary, the 'Muhammadan Crescentaders' (to use Hunter's expression) built up their headquarters first in Sittana (Swat), then in Patna. The activities of the freedom fighters—often called Wahhabis because of their alleged relation with the Arabian movement—continued for decades,

¹² Hunter, *The Indian Muslims*, p. 74.

only no longer against the Sikhs but against the British. The 'Fanatic Host', as Hunter calls them invariably, produced a whole literature of their own, from Isma'il Shahid's theoretical writings to practical pamphlets in straightforward, clear Urdu, and rhymed prophecies: even the medieval Shia saint Shah Ni'matullah was credited with an ode that predicts the final victory of the *mujāhidūn*.

The *jamā'at-i mujāhidīn* was the first large scale popular organisation of Indian Muslims and derived its support practically from all sections of the Muslim society; it operated its own treasury (*bait al-māl*) and its own law courts to be completely independent of the 'infidel' administration. After the failure of 1831 some fighters migrated to Mecca; *hijra*, 'emigration', was almost the only course open for the faithful, because to live in the land of the infidels was regarded as a cause of the Prophet's wrath against the Muslims. In India the movement slowly lost some of its initial high ideals. In 1864 a major 'Wahhabi' trial took place in Amballa, and in 1870 both Sunni and Shia theologians distanced themselves from the 'Wahhabi' movement. However, even those who hated the *mujāhidūn* for political reasons, i.e. mainly the British, could not help admiring them in a certain way:

Indefatigable as missionaries, careless of themselves, blameless in their lives, supremely devoted to the overthrow of the English infidels, admirably skilful in organising a permanent system for supplying money and recruits, the Patna Caliphs stand forth as the types and exemplars of the Sect. Much of their teaching was faultless, and it has been given to them to stir up thousands of their countrymen to a purer life, and a truer conception of the Almighty...Dangerous firebrands as the local missionaries sometimes prove, I find it impossible to speak of them without respect...¹¹

Among those who migrated to Mecca after 1831 was Maulana Muhammad Ishaq, the son of Shah 'Abdul'aziz' daughter (1778-1846). This strict Hanafi scholar was one of the first theologians to advocate an alliance of the Indian Muslims with the Ottoman sultan, who was, after all, the overlord of Mecca and Medina, and in his quality of caliph was regarded as the spiritual head of the Muslims. The hope in the Ottoman caliph later grew into an important political issue.

Maulana Muhammad Ishaq had numerous disciples who played a more or less outstanding role in the development of Muslim intellectual life in India. One of them was Maulana Mamluk 'Ali (d. 1850). He served as a teacher in an institution which tried to give Indian Muslims access to Western knowledge without neglecting their cultural heritage: that was Delhi College. Subsidised by the British since 1827, and always under a British principal, Delhi College used Urdu as medium of instruction but taught English as a subsidiary

¹¹ Id. pp. 68, 70.

language. Under Felix Boutros (1796-1863) first efforts were made to translate books suitable for higher education into Urdu. A special role in this attempt was played by Shams al-‘ulamā Maulana Zaka‘ullah (1832-1910), translator of some of Garcin de Tassy's works on Urdu literature, but primarily an excellent translator of mathematical subjects. In 1841 the 'Society for the Promotion of Knowledge in India through the Medium of Vernacular Languages' was founded. Maulwi ‘Abdulhaqq, the 'Father of Urdu', has described the impact of Delhi College on young Muslims in his book *Marhūm Delhi College*. The emphasis was on science rather than on literature, and the instruction was enthusiastically received by the students. The indefatigable Maulwi Karimuddin from Panipat served the College for years, translating numerous works into Urdu and, like Maulana Zaka‘ullah, advocating female education. Maulana Imambakhsh Sahba‘i, the classicist, was professor of Persian. The Austrian scholar, Aloys Sprenger, who taught for some time at the College, founded in 1845 an illustrated journal, called *Qirān as-sa‘daīn*, 'The Conjunction of the Two Lucky Stars', to bring about a felicitous meeting of East and West; this first Urdu magazine was soon imitated. Several newspapers in Persian and Urdu began to appear, and Sprenger, otherwise quite critical in his approach to Islamic tradition, enthusiastically praised the role of the printing press which opened to the Indian Muslims the treasures of their past and made them aware of their inherited spiritual wealth:

The number of works lithographed at Lucknow and Cawnpore may amount to about seven hundred. Some of them have gone to more than ten editions. The books most in request are of course schoolbooks and such other dialectical and religious tracts as every Mawlavy reads or pretends to read. But we already observe symptoms that the press is enlarging the narrow cycle of learning and—what is more important—that it extends education to all classes and even to ladies...Not only have the principal collections [of Prophetic traditions] been published in Arabic, but we have Persian and Hindustany translations of the *Mishkāt* and *Mashāriq al-anwār*, which have gone through more than one edition. After the Musalmans had, several centuries ago, entirely lost sight of the original ideas of their religion, they are now beginning to make their sacred books intelligible to all. This must lead to results analogous to those which the translation and study of the Bible produced in Europe...¹

Delhi, still not more than a distant outpost of the Company's territories, seemed to become once more a centre of learning and culture in the days of the aged monarch Bahadur Shah Zafar, and stands out against the areas of the puritan *mujāhidūn* on the one hand, the licentious Shia court of Lucknow on the other. To be sure, the role of the Moghul emperor was just that of a figurehead. Poor, and surrounded by hundreds of even poorer relatives, the *salāṭīn*, Bahadur Shah had at least some high sounding titles, and as the British kept up the fiction of his royal status, his court poets told him in

¹ Sprenger, *Catalogue...Oudh*, p. VI.

glorious odes that he was the centre of the world—as Ghalib sings in one of the fourteen encomiums devoted to the king:

He, from whose strength shivering runs through the celestial bodies,
He, from whose majesty trembling falls in the elements...

Mirza Asadullah Ghalib (1797-1869) was the most important poet in Delhi; many of his Urdu verses are still proverbial in the Subcontinent. Although he did by no means claim to be a pious Muslim but rather preferred to call himself a *nīm-musulmān*, 'half-Muslim', because he was fond of his glass of wine, he left some artistic hymns in praise of the Prophet and, being a Shia, a number of grandiose odes on the Imams. He also participated in a scholastic discussion that went on between Ismaʿīl Shahīd and Maulwī Fazl-i Haqq Khairabadi. This scholar had studied logic, philosophy and *kalām* with Shah ʿAbdulqadīr; his father, Fazl-i Imām (d. 1829) was the first Indian to accept the office of *muftī* and *ṣadr aṣ-ṣudūr* under the Company; Ghalib wrote a chronogram for his death. Ismaʿīl Shahīd maintained that, although the historical Muhammad is the Seal of Prophets, God can create another Muhammad; that would be *mumkin bi-dh-dhāt*, 'basically possible'; however God would not make him appear on earth because that would be a contradiction in itself. Maulwī Fazl-i Haqq, however, held that the 'Seal of the Prophets' is *mumtaniʿ an-naẓr*, 'it is impossible that he should have a match'. Ghalib, asked for his opinion, expressed his feelings in a Persian *mathnawī*:

He who has created sun and moon and stars
Can also create another 'Seal'.³⁷

For it would mean a restriction of God Almighty's power if He were not able to create another Muhammad—but such a new Seal of Prophets would belong not to our earth but to other possible worlds. For if God should create another earth, its inhabitants will need prophetic guidance as well:

Wherever the unrest of a world emerges,
There is also a 'Mercy for the worlds' (Sura 21/107).

Iqbal has taken over Ghalib's verses into the *Jāvidnāma*, where the Delhi poet appears in the Heaven of Jupiter as one of the great *zindīq*, i.e., one of those who have become heretics through excessive love (like Hallaj and the Babi martyress Tahira Qurratulʿain).³⁸ Ghalib has never been regarded as a religious poet; but his imagery contains much of the inherited Sufi material, and he even turns in one place against the puritanic reformers who regard

³⁷ Ghalib, *Mathnawī Nr. VI (Kulliyāt-i farṣī*, Lahore 1969, Vol. V), cf. also his *Abr-i gauharbār*, an unfinished *mathnawī* about the Prophet. See Daud Rahbar, 'Ghalib and a debatable point of theology', *MW* LVI, 1966.

³⁸ *Jāvidnāma*, Lahore 1932, l. 1158 ff.

saint veneration as as sign of unbelief. And as a poet who is aware of the necessity of images and symbols, he asks these puritans:

Was Majnun a dog-worshipper because he kissed the paw of Laila's dog?

and tenderly speaks of the beauty of traditional rituals—the same man who called himself 'a sinner, but not an infidel'...

Around 1850 the situation in India looked rather quiet. No major religious or political disturbances were noticeable. Delhi seemed to have recovered from the blows that had shaken it during the 18th century. Bahadur Shah visited famous shrines and acted as a kind of *pīr* who accepted *murīds*, and in the tradition of the House of Timur he wrote poetry which belongs to the finest, though not the greatest products of 19th-century Urdu. In the Carnatic, Nawwab Ghulam Ghauth Khan Bahadur was open-minded enough to found a *madrasa* in Madras (1851), where not only the traditional Islamic languages were taught, but also English, Tamil and Telugu. The institution existed only a few years, since the orthodox leader refused cooperation because he 'could not support a cause advocating for earning livelihood rather than supporting religion'³⁷—a view-point which may also have been on the minds of Sir Sayyid's critics a few decades later.—The British made an end to the semi-independent nawwabship of the Carnatic after the ruler's death in 1855; his successors were simply styled 'Prince of Arcot'. One year later, in 1856, the British finally did away with the kingdom of Oudh, deporting the last king, Wajid 'Ali Shah, to Calcutta where he continued to write sensual and religious poetry and to look after his ladies and his zoo until he died in 1887.

But the accumulated aversion to British rule with all its implications waxed stronger under the apparently calm surface. From February 1857 on, signs of rebellion disturbed the army; then, on May 11, 1857, the troopers in Meerut burst out. The outward reason was a seemingly trivial incident, i.e., a rumour that the cartridges which the soldiers had to bite off in the new type of rifles were greased with beef's or hog's fat, equally contaminating to Hindus and Muslims. A few days later Indian soldiers began to murder European women and children. The fighting in and around Delhi, Meerut, Lucknow and adjacent areas continued till September 20. Bahadur Shah was called by the troops to reconstitute the Moghul Empire.

After decades as imperial lion caged in an English zoo, where he was constantly tormented by the removal of more and more privileges, Bahadur reluctantly agreed, at eighty-two, to risk everything by accepting the nominal leadership of the 'rebels'...

³⁷ Kokan, *Arabic and Persian in Carnatic*, p. 360 ff.

³⁸ S. C. Welch, *Room for Wonder*, p. 118, plate 52.

Finally the British gained control over the situation and mercilessly revenged the actions of the troops, the main blame falling upon the Muslims. Ghalib has described the horrors of the so-called Mutiny in his Persian booklet *Dastanbū*, which was meant as a 'nosegay' for Queen Victoria, from 1858 ruler of India. A European author says:

For several days after the British occupation of Delhi, civilians were shot at sight and when this was over, trials under the martial law started and any wretch who had a grievance against another or who wanted to win the favour of the victors would come forward with accusation of complicity against the best and the noblest, and was readily believed... The vast quarter of the city between the Fort and the Grand Mosque, which housed the Moghul aristocracy, was completely razed to the ground and ploughed up...¹¹

For weeks, the population of Delhi was driven out, the principal mosques were occupied by troops. The Jami' Mosque was given back to the Muslims only after five years. Bahadur Shah was tried through February 1858 (after some of his sons had been executed before his eyes); and was finally exiled to Rangoon. Fazl-i Haqq Khairabadi, who had played a leading role in the rebellion, was sent to the Andamans where he died in 1862. His small Arabic book *Ar-risāla al-ghadriyya yā ath-thaurat al-hindiyya*, which was soon translated into Urdu, tries to show the responsibility of the British, whose aim was to impose suffocating poverty and to eradicate Islamic scholarship in India.

Delhi was once more in ruins, and many elegies were sung for the city which had constituted for centuries the embodiment of Muslim supremacy. As Dagh, who later found a refuge in Hyderabad, writes in his threnody on Delhi:

It's this city that was man's and *djinn*'s heart;
It's this city that was every appreciating person's heart;
It's this city that was all India's heart;
It's this city that was the whole world's heart...

¹¹ G. F. J. Graham, *The Life and Work of Syed Ahmad Khan*, 3rd. ed. 1909, p. 12.

CHAPTER SIX

1857-1906: THE AGE OF REFORM MOVEMENTS

The abortive military rebellion of 1857 was the turning point in the history of the Indian Muslims. To be sure, their search for identity had begun more than a century earlier, when Delhi was smarting under the constant attacks of enemies and coreligionists alike, and the gradual taking over by the British of important military and legal positions had resulted in different attitudes toward the new rule—be it the vehement refusal to cooperate with the unbelievers, be it a certain adaptation to their way of life. But after 1857 the setting changed completely; the overlords were no longer the members of the East India Company but the British Crown, although numerous Princely States still continued to exist. Some of them now became centres of Islamic learning (thus Bhopal, Hyderabad, and Rampur), and scholars and poets who had left Delhi for political or religious reasons found a new home at these courts.

Since the main responsibility for the rebellion was laid upon the Muslims their conditions deteriorated even more than previously:

The Muhammadans have now sunk so low that, even when qualified for Government employment they are studiously kept out of it by Government notifications.¹

The problems of how to react to this shock, and that meant, more generally, to the British supremacy, evoked various answers among the Muslims. Education was the prime issue. Among those who tried to better the fate of the Muslims by leading them to a participation in the British educational system, the name of Ahmad Khan, usually known by his honorific title Sir Sayyid, stands out prominently. 'Notre éminent contemporain', as Garcin de Tassy calls him in his *Histoire de la littérature Hindoue et Hindoustani*, is a crucial figure in the development of Indian Islam after 1857. A speech which he gave in 1889 about the 'Mutiny' and his personal experiences gives the clue to his attitude:

This sorrow made me old and turned my hair gray...Then I thought that it would be very cowardly on my part to leave my people in this state of utter ruin and save myself in some place of security. No! I should suffer along with them and make it my duty to help them in this difficulty. I gave up the idea of *hijra* and chose to work for my people.²

¹ Hunter, *The Indian Musulmans*, p. 167 f.

² Sheila McDonough, *The Authority of the Past*, Yale 1970, p. 7.

Ahmad Khan was born to a family of nobility in Delhi in 1817; his ancestors had come from Herat to India in the time of Shah Jahan, and both his maternal grandfather and his father were closely associated with the court. Thus Ahmad Khan grew up, 'a relic of the palmy days of Great Moghuls' without anticipating that he was to be called, one day, 'the first prophet of new nationhood'.¹ Only few scholars discovered in the early Sir Sayyid a mystical, or rather Naqshbandi, tendency;² however, this can be explained partly by his maternal grandfather's inclination towards Sufism, which his pious mother shared, and partly by Sayyid Ahmad's being related through his father's mother to Mir Dard. It becomes evident from his early writings against the Shia but even more from his treatise about the *taṣawwur-i shaikh*, a typical Naqshbandi practice in meditation. The young Ahmad Khan ascribed to this practice of concentration upon the spiritual guide a possible salutary effect. The relationship of Sayyid Ahmad's early works with those of the writers in the *ṭarīqa muḥammadiyya*, particularly Shah Ismaʿil Shahid, is remarkable. As early as in 1841 he published a study on the Prophet of Islam, *Jilāʾ al-qulūb*, a kind of 'reformed' *maulūd* writing which aimed at leading the Muslims back to the undiluted sources of Muhammad's life, ridding them from the mist of miracles that formed part and parcel of the veneration of the Prophet. His attitude closely resembles that of the Naqshbandi *mujaddidi* school. The same is true of his definition of a saint who is to be judged only according to whether he follows the Prophetic *sunna*, not by his capacity to perform miracles.

After losing his father in 1838, Sayyid Ahmad took employment with the British East India Company and slowly ascended to the rank of *ṣadr amīn*, sub-judge, in Bijnaur. The young man developed a keen interest in the history of his native town, and his first major work is devoted to the *Athār as-sanādīd*, 'The Works of the Nobles' (1847). It is the first historical account of Delhi in the Urdu language, with numerous valuable drawings of buildings and inscriptions by the author. Later he edited the *Aʿẓn-i Akbarī* and Barani's *Tārīkh-i Ferozshāhī* (1862) for the *Bibliotheca Indica*. But with all his interest in Indo-Muslim history he remained loyal to the British, so much so that he saved the European colony in Bijnaur during the rebellion of 1857. The rebellion which destroyed everything that he had loved, must have been for him—as for most North Indian Muslims—'a boundary situation',³ which resulted in a new outlook. Ahmad Khan now tried to explain the Causes of the

¹ A. H. al-Biruni, *Makers of Pakistan and Modern Muslim India*, Lahore 1950, p. 60.

² See now Christian W. Troll, S. J., *Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan. A Reinterpretation of Muslim Theology*, New Delhi 1978.

³ McDonough, *Authority of the Past*, p. 5.

Indian Revolt (*Asbāb-i baghawāt-i Hind*) by laying the blame upon both sides:⁶ the government had ignored the conditions of its subjects, while the people misunderstood the British rule. Mutual misunderstanding being at the root of the tragedy, Sayyid Ahmad began to strive for means to bring about a rapprochement. Similar to Nawwab 'Abdullatif, who founded in 1863 a Literary Society in Calcutta to introduce English material to his compatriots, Sayyid Ahmad founded a Translation Society in Ghazipur, where he was posted as *ṣadr aṣ-ṣudūr*; he also built up a school in which five languages, including Sanskrit, were taught. He himself participated in the translation of English books, which range from history to medicine and mathematics. (His family had been noted for a keen interest in mathematics and related sciences). Convinced that the Muslims ought to know more about the religion of the rulers he set out to write a commentary on the Bible which, although destined to remain a fragment, is the first attempt to take seriously the claims of Christianity. It grew logically out of the activities of Christian missionaries such as C. G. Pfander (1803-1865) and may be viewed as a parallel to Ram Mohan Roy's book 'The Precepts of Jesus' (1834), being the result of a common basic historical situation. W. Muir's *Life of Muhammad* was discussed and largely rejected by Sayyid Ahmad.

An 18 months' stay in England 1869/70 convinced Ahmad Khan of the superiority of everything British.⁷ His excessive admiration for the social and cultural standards even of low class people in Britain caused a deep aversion among orthodox Muslims to him, as the anglophilia of some of his followers was later criticized in Akbar Allahabadi's satirical poems. In fact Akbar did not hesitate to apply to Sir Sayyid a verse that is connected in the Hallaj-tradition with Satan, who, in his refusal to bow down before Adam (Sura 2/31), is caught between God's Will and His Order:

Thou didst cast him into the water, his hands tied
And say, "Beware lest your garment get wet!"⁸

That was how Muslim orthodoxy saw the man who tried to find a way to combine Islam and Western education. But he remained unshaken:

If through the will of God we are subdued by a nation which gives religious freedom, rules with justice, maintains peace in the country and respects our individuality and property as it is done by the British rule in India, we should be loyal to it.⁹

⁶ Translated into English by his two European friends, 1873.

⁷ Ram Mohan Roy had visited England as early as in 1829; about the importance of travelogues for acquiring a new world view see Aziz Ahmad, *Islamic Modernism in India and Pakistan*, Oxford 1967, p. 6 ff.

⁸ Ibn Khallikan, *Wafayāt al-a'yān*, ed. F. Wustenfeld, Göttingen 1835-50, s.v. Hallaj.

⁹ Troll, *Sayyid Ahmad Khan*, p. 4.

And he reminded his readers of Joseph, who faithfully served Potiphar who was not his coreligionist. That Ahmad Khan found the food taboos of Islam overstressed goes without saying: in his *Aḥkām at-ṭaʿām-i ahl-i kitāb* (1868) he explicitly states that Muslims and Christians can eat together, even if strangled (not ritually slaughtered) fowl is served. Such an attitude earned Ahmad Khan the epithet of 'a loyal and liberal native of our Indian Empire'.

But his main interest was educational, and he was moved by his fundamental confidence in the roots of Muslim culture. The Muslims would lose nothing by participating in the British education system; on the contrary, by secluding themselves from modern science they would be excluded from material progress. The number of Hindus who participated in the British school system without major qualms was proportionately much higher than that of the Muslims, so that W. W. Hunter writes with a certain amazement that:

The changes in which the more flexible Hindus have cheerfully acquiesced, are regarded by [the Muslims] as deep personal wrongs.¹⁰

The *maktabs* and *madrasas* were still run according to medieval syllabi, and while the young Hindu could immediately start with secular knowledge the Muslim had first to undergo years of basic Islamic teachings. The presence of a crucifix or other religious representations in schools set up by the Christian rulers would be most shocking for a Muslim student while a Hindu would not mind it at all, and besides, there was a social problem behind Muslim non-participation in British schooling: 'respectable Muslims considered it degrading to send their children to government schools, where they would have to mix with 'the vulgar people' ".¹¹

After being posted in Aligarh in 1866, Sayyid Ahmad worked hard to influence the Muslims through journals and writings, beginning with *Akhbar*

¹⁰ Hunter, *The Indian Muslims*, p. 175 and the whole Chapter 4.

¹¹ David Lelyveld, *Aligarh's First Generation*, Princeton 1978, p. 92. A typical picture of the attitude of religious families gives Pir Ali Mohammad Rashdi in *Uḥe dīnha uḥe shīnha* (Hyderabad/Sind 1965), p. 429: 'The noble families of Sind deeply abhorred the language of the Christians, English. The Christians themselves were 'enemies of the faith', and their language was, as the ulema claimed, to be considered as the medium of conversation for the inhabitants of Hell. To learn English already in this world meant the inherent danger of producing many evil results. For instance, those who learned English had to shave their beards, which was absolutely contrary to the noble Prophetic tradition... To wear English clothing was the necessary corollary of learning English—and that was even more prohibited, particularly to wear a necktie, for that was a symbol of the cross! And perhaps the most venerable jurisconsults might have graciously forgiven all these sins, but there was still another result of English education which they could not tolerate by any means, namely, that those who learned English put on European pantalons and answered a call of nature without using the prescribed piece of clay and without ritual ablution!' See for more details Schimmel, 'Sind vor 1947'.

Scientific Society, the *Aligarh Institute Gazette* and finally *Tahdhīb al-akhḫlāq*, which run from 1871 to 1882. This journal, also called 'The Mohamedan Social Reformer, a monthly periodical' had taken its title from a treatise by the medieval philosopher Ibn Miskawaih, but the term is typical of the Naqshbandi tradition where *tahdhīb al-akhḫlāq* means the polishing of the moral faculties, which is supposed to lead to *kashf 'aqlī*, 'intellectual revelation'. That was exactly the kind of illumination that the editor envisaged for the slowly emerging, new Muslim middle class. He wanted

to make the Muslims of India desirous of the best kind of civilisation so that it shall remove the contempt with which civilized peoples regard the Muslims, and the latter shall become reckoned among the respected and civilized people in the world.¹²

According to Ahmad Khan, education is the basis for everything else; otherwise, whatever is planned for the people's welfare is useless. Therefore he fought for the idea of an Anglo-Indian College which he finally created in 1875 in Aligarh. The foundation stone was laid on January 8, 1877 by Lord Lytton; one year later the classes started. Aligarh was built according to British principles; the language of higher education was English. The school developed into a College which attracted in the early 20th century eminent European orientalists such as T. W. Arnold, J. Horowitz, A. Tritton, and O. Spies. In 1920 it was converted into a University which soon became a centre of Indian nationalism; new departments are still being added. The orthodox, headed by Maulwi 'Alibakhsh, reacted violently and issued *fatwās* against Aligarh, which they obtained even from ulema in Mecca and Medina. They charged Ahmad Khan with all kinds of unbelief, yea, even as 'the *khalīfa* of the devil himself who is intent upon leading the Muslims astray' and 'whose perfidy is worse than that of the Jews and Christians'.¹³

But Ahmad Khan continued his fight. The Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental Educational Conference (1886) became the centre of the so-called Aligarh Movement and propagated his ideas in the whole of British India, although the Aligarh program was more or less 'designed to make contact with a considerably narrow group: the North Indian Muslims literate in Urdu'.¹⁴ Yet related institutions were founded in various places; thus in Bengal, 'Ubaidullah Suhrawardi founded the Dacca College which, like Aligarh, gained University status after World War I.

Ahmad Khan's emphasis on practical morality was understandable as a reaction to hairsplitting theological disputations as well as to the false preten-

¹² J. M. S. Baljon, *The Reforms and Religious Ideas of Sayyid Ahmad Khan*, Lahore 2nd ed. 1958, p. 33.

¹³ Troll, *Sayyid Ahmad Khan*, p. 21.

¹⁴ Lelyveld, *Aligarh's First Generation*, p. 123.

sions of quite a few would-be Sufis, not to mention the low standard of Muslim education in most places. Was it really necessary for children in school to learn that the Prophet had exactly 104,472 hairs on his head,¹⁵ when they did not know anything of the religious values of Islam? He felt the deplorable lack of interest in history, for religious leaders would barely concern themselves with knowing what had happened at a certain time; rather, their concern was purely and simply Parādisē and the way thither¹⁶ (and still today a certain lack of awareness of temporal relations between events can be found even among highly educated Muslims in the Subcontinent). But it has to be admitted that Sayyid Ahmad's educational program was predominantly meant for the upper Middle classes, while the lower strata of society were neglected.

Sayyid Ahmad claimed in 1884 in Lahore:

Today we are, as before, in need of a modern *'ilm al-kalām* by which we should either refute the doctrines of the modern sciences or undermine their foundations, or show that they are in conformity with the articles of Islamic faith.¹⁷

He therefore undertook to comment upon the Koran (1885) and laid down his principles in 15 points. The Koran is, for him, the only infallible source of Muslim law, and when he speaks of the process of inspiration he seems even more conservative than Shah Waliullah whom he otherwise usually quotes with approval:

4. It is also accepted that the glorious Koran alighted on the heart of the Prophet or was inspired into it, whether it is believed that the Angel Gabriel transmitted it to the Prophet or that the faculty of prophecy which has been given the appellation of the Faithful Spirit, *ar-rūh al-amīn*, has poured (or infused) it on the heart of the Prophet. This last is the belief I personally follow. The result of both the alternative positions is the same and therefore discussion about it is unnecessary. But I do not accept the view that only the subject matter was poured on the heart, and that the actual words of the Koran are the Prophet's own, whereby he has expressed that subject matter in his tongue which was Arabic... The glorious Koran was poured upon the Prophet's heart in actual words as they are and the Prophet recited these same words in the same order to the people.¹⁸

And in a little Persian poem he avers:

I have a God, I have a heart burnt by the love of Mustafa,
I do not want the Koran as a message from Gabriel—
The Koran that I keep is all the speech of my Beloved!¹⁹

¹⁵ Richard F. Burton, *Sindh, and the Races that inhabit the Valley of the Indus*, London 1851, p. 135 about the instruction in the *Nūr-nāmā*.

¹⁶ Sharar, *Lucknow*, p. 96.

¹⁷ Troll, *Sayyid Ahmad*, p. 313.

¹⁸ Aziz Ahmad-E. G. von Grunebaum, *Muslim Self-Statement in India and Pakistan, 1858-1963*, Wiesbaden 1970, p. 27.

¹⁹ Ikram, *Armaghān-i Pāk*, p. 325.

Like many of his Protestant colleagues in the West, Sayyid Ahmad had an aversion to 'unnatural supernaturalism', and tended to a certain demythologization of the Koran. Thus he regarded djinns as 'savage tribes', angels as 'divine moral support', while devils are 'dark passions'. This tendency appears already in his first writings of 1842 where he tried to rid the image of the Prophet from legendary accretions. He therefore had a certain sympathy for the Wahhabis, who tried to purge Islam from superstitious, quasi-mystical elements. Prophethood is, for him, a natural phenomenon (here he is not too far from Shah Waliullah); no angel called Gabriel is necessary for inspiration. But Ahmad Khan defends the *'isma* of the Prophet, and although he was critical of *hadith* in toto as it was accepted in his day, he felt:

We are obliged to follow the *sunna* of the Prophet in religious matters, and are permitted to do it in worldly affairs.⁴⁸

Yet, he wanted to reject that part of *hadith* that is repugnant to human reason. His stress on reason leads him also to a more 'practical' interpretation of some Koranic and traditional laws: polygamy is permitted, but generally 'nature requires that man should have one wife'; slavery, which was permitted in the beginning, appears to have been forbidden after the conquest of Mecca. Taking of interest was regarded by him as legitimate, and the punishments mentioned in Sura 5/33—such as cutting hands and feet—are valid only if a country is too backward and poor to maintain prisons for thieves and wrongdoers. Strangely enough, Ahmad Khan believed that for women purdah was 'the best we can have'.

As much as Ahmad Khan emphasized the practical points of the Divine word, his notion of God is marked by *tanzih*, the *via remotionis*, which seems to transform God into a mere *prima causa*. This is one of the reasons for the ulema's aversion to him, a layman who arrogated to himself, although not a trained member of the ulema class, the right to discuss subtle religious problems. Ahmad Khan's view that the *i'jaz* of the Koran, its inimitability, consists not so much in its rhetorical beauty but rather in its ability to civilize 'marauding nomads' was also a shocking new viewpoint. He is not clear about the Day of Judgment but remarks that 'the reward and the punishment of good and evil depends on the laws of nature that have been established by God'. But it is essential to recognize the overall claim of eschatological texts in the Koran, namely 'to encourage men towards good actions and to discourage them from evil actions by showing their long-term consequences'; but all eschatological events should be seen in their 'otherness'.

⁴⁸ See Hafeez Malik, 'The religious liberalism of Sayyid Ahmad Khan', *MW* LIV, point 33, about the permissibility of eating with a knife.

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Ahmad Khan saw the danger in Islam having become synonymous with *fiqh* (did not Lord Cromer write during those days that 'Reformed Islam is no longer Islam'?), because in course of time the human opinion of the ulema had been identified with the will of God; thus the simple and unchanging religious truth—which was proclaimed through the Koran and through the venerated Prophet—was covered with layers and layers of secondary interpretations. Nothing in the Koran can contradict nature, for *wahy* 'prophetic inspiration' and natural law are identical. Does not the Koran itself speak of God 'inspiring' the bees to perform their work (Sura 16/68)? For Sayyid Ahmad, the work of God (which is nature and its fixed laws) is identical with, and cannot contradict, the Word of God, the Koran. (He uses the terms *work of God* and *word of God* in English in the Urdu text!). And so he pictures the ideal future Muslim:

Philosophy will be in our right hand, natural science in our left, and the crown of 'There is no deity save God, Muhammad is the messenger of God' on our head!²¹

Ahmad Khan felt that the Koranic injunctions were deeply meaningful; one of his finest pieces of writing is concerned with the symbolic explanation of the various movements in ritual prayer, which seemed to him the highest kind of worship. On the other hand he rejected the idea that private prayer (*du'a*) could be heard—what a confusion would set in if every prayer were fulfilled! If performed at all, it should rather lead man to a feeling of obedience and submission. In this point even some of his friends could not follow him, and one of the most vehement attacks against him was launched by Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, the founder of the Ahmadiyya sect. Still, similar ideas can be found with both some early ascetics and the Mu'tazila.

It was easy to see in Sir Sayyid—who had become Knight Commander of the Star of India, and who received an honorary D. Litt. from Edinburgh University—a 'naturalist', *nēcharī*, as the Urdu term has it, that means someone who denies the supernatural aspects of the Koranic message and had fallen prey to flat rationalism. As such he was condemned by Indian mullas; still today the ulema in Pakistan 'refer to him as an instance of disruptive bad thinking',²² although he was convinced that 'true progress consisted in the fullest possible enactment of the profession of unity in worship'.²³ Even more violent than their aversion was the reaction of Jamaluddin Afghani who called him a *dahrī*, 'materialist', and an instrument of the British. This verdict, however, had to a certain extent to do with Sir Sayyid's stance against Pan-

²¹ Troll, *Sayyid Ahmad*, p. 218 f.

²² McDonough, *Authority of the Past*, p. 12.

²³ Troll, *Sayyid Ahmad Khan*, p. 194.

Islamism and the widespread idea that the Turkish Sultan was indeed the caliph of all—and that means also the Indian—Muslims. He rather saw the Indian Muslims as a closed community which had to be nurtured to full maturity, and he certainly agreed with the remark of his active supporter, Maulwi Zaka'ullah, that the Muslims should not look to foreign countries for guidance, since

for a thousand years, our own religion of Islam had been intimately bound up with India; and in India, Islam had won some of its greatest triumphs, for its own popular form of civilization.

As little as Sir Sayyid usually entered the political scene, he earnestly warned the Muslims not to join the Indian Congress (founded in 1885) at the time when the Muslim Badruddin Tyabjee became its president. On the one hand he disliked the slightly 'disrespectful' attitude of this body towards the British; on the other he was—rightly—afraid that communal frictions would arise if the British departed, and felt that the Muslim minority in the Subcontinent might be subjugated by the Hindu majority. One of the reasons for his negative feelings concerning a fruitful cooperation was the Hindi-Urdu controversy that started in 1867, when the Hindus began to advocate the abolition of Arabic characters in favour of Hindi script. At that point Sir Sayyid had to give up his hopes for common educational arrangements for both communities and concentrated upon solely Muslim education. Although one can see here the roots of future communalist tension, Sir Sayyid had no aversion to the Hindus as such and compared India to a pretty bride whose two eyes are the Hindus and the Muslims. He also founded in 1893 a United India Patriotic Association. Yet, his role as the founder of Muslim *qaumiyat* is usually highlighted. As Maulwi 'Abdulhaqq, the *Bābā-yi Urdu*, poetically wrote:

Farhad did not love Shirin and Nal did not love Daman as much as he loved his *qaum*. Whether sleeping or waking, standing or sitting, this and this alone was his devotional exercise (*wird*). It is no exaggeration to say that he had reached the stage of annihilation in the *qaum* (*fanā fi'l-qaum*)...²⁴

And he did indeed give the Muslims of the Subcontinent the feeling of being a distinct community.

Sir Sayyid was an indefatigable worker; his writings comprise at least 6000 pages in Urdu. Although he and his collaborators worked for a fluent, functional Urdu, he still found it advisable for modern Western education to be carried out in English, for 'in Urdu it was virtually impossible to write

²⁴ Id. p. 9.

without exaggeration, to separate metaphor from concrete reality'.²⁵ He was an exciting speaker and must have enthralled the Muslim masses, persuading them to join his camp. And even if we concede that Hali, his biographer, exaggerates in his praise of the master's external and internal perfections there is no doubt that Sir Sayyid personified the ideal of a leader in this difficult time of transition. As Hali says in the constantly repeated verse of his threnody written at the master's death in 1898:

He went, and took with him the splendour of the banquet of Muslimhood;
The community is confused by his death, and Muslimhood died.²⁶

Whatever Sir Sayyid's theological stance might have been, his personal integrity and his deep love of his country and his confidence in the Muslims and their development make him the most outstanding figure in the period of reorientation. As Iqbal puts it:

We may differ from his religious views, but there can be no denying the fact that his sensitive soul was the first to react to the modern age.²⁷

* * *

Sir Sayyid was surrounded by friends who helped him produce his journal *Tahdhib al-akhlaq*. One of them was Sayyid Mahdi Muhsin al-mulk (1837-1907), a convert from Shia to Sunni Islam, whose activities were mainly concentrated in Hyderabad. Muhsin al-mulk kept contacts with the *Manār* group in Egypt; he advocated religious education in schools on the primary or at least secondary levels, and tried to find a more balanced position than Sir Sayyid between the roles of religion and science in education. His view that static traditionalism in Islamic studies was leading to a Hinduization of Indian Islam is correct. It points to the major danger threatening the Muslims, the fossilization of religious thought in a foreign environment; thus it foreshadows, in a certain way, some of Iqbal's ideas. Muhsin al-mulk was also instrumental in Muslim politics and took an energetic stance in 1900 in a renewed Hindi-Urdu controversy, during which the unconcerned British attitude deeply hurt his feelings.

Muhsin al-mulk's importance notwithstanding, Western orientalist were more interested in the work of the most radical of Sir Sayyid's collaborators, Chiragh 'Ali, who, like Muhsin al-mulk, served at the Nizam's court where he died as Finance secretary in 1895. He tried to collect information about

²⁵ Lelyveld, *Aligarh's first Generation*, p. 206. Sayyid Ahmad was against instruction in Urdu when the University of the Punjab was founded in 1882; s. Baljon, *Sayyid Ahmad*, p. 45.

²⁶ Ikram, *Armaghān-i Pak*, p. 329.

²⁷ Iqbal, 'Islam and Ahmedism (1935)', in 'Shamloo', *Speeches and Statements of Iqbal*, Lahore 1945, p. 131.

Koranic and Islamic studies in Europe and reached in his criticism of *hadith* solutions similar to those which Goldziher offered the scholarly world slightly later. His criticism of *hadith* goes far beyond every previous attempt when he states:

The vast flood of traditions soon formed a chaotic sea. Truth and error, fact and fable, mingled together in an undistinguishable way...the name of Muhammad was abused to support all manners of lies and absurdities, or to satisfy the passion, caprice, or arbitrary will of the despots, leaving out of consideration the creation of any standard of text.¹⁸

Like Sir Sayyid he spoke against the petrified application of *fiqh*, for the Koran is not a civil or political code but a religious book, and Muhammad never combined church and state in one:

Not the Islam of Muslim common law, but the faith as practiced in the Koran itself constitutes progress and change for the better.¹⁹

And when Sir Sayyid did not completely rule out the permissibility of polygamy, Chiragh 'Ali found its abolition inherent in the 'equality order' as put in the Koran: could a man really love several women with equal strength? And he paved the way for the numerous modernist publications which try to prove that Islam ameliorated the position of women by many useful new orders:

All the beneficial measures were fraught with incalculable advantage to the debased condition of women who, by these innovations in their social sphere of life, were greatly relieved from the miseries and insults they had hitherto suffered at the hands of males.²⁰

Although Chiragh 'Ali lacks depth in his scholarship, his daring attitude makes him one of the most interesting members of the Aligarh movement.

But while the writings of Wiqar al-mulk, Muhsin al-mulk and Chiragh 'Ali remained restricted to a certain circle of modern-minded Muslims, another friend of Sir Sayyid could appeal to the hearts of the intellectuals and the masses alike. That was Altaf Husain, who used the pen-name Hali (1837-1914). Educated in the traditional *madrassa* in Delhi, and for a short time pupil and friend of Ghalib, he was later employed in Lahore to revise the Urdu style of translations made from English, and thus became acquainted to a certain extent with European thought. In the literary meetings which were organized by Colonel Holroyd in Lahore after 1870—meetings in which both Hali and Azad, the brilliant stylist of Urdu prose, participated—Hali attracted the interest of the public by poems which dealt with novel topics, such as 'Fatherland', 'Justice', etc. Among them one may single out *Ek bīwē ki*

¹⁸ Ahmad-von Grunebaum, *Muslim Self-Statement*, p. 52.

¹⁹ Baljon, *Sayyid Ahmad*, p. 59; see also J. M. S. Baljon, 'Characteristics of Indian Islam', p. 59.

²⁰ Ahmad-Grunebaum, *Muslim Self-Statement*, p. 55.

munājāt, 'A Woman's Orison', which sheds light on the miserable condition of widows. In 1874 Hali found work in Delhi and drew close to Sayyid Ahmad Khan, whose biographer he was to become (*Ḥayāt-i jāwed*). In 1879 he published the poem which made his name immortal: 'The Ebb and Flood of Islam', usually called *Musaddas* after its form, the six-lined stanza—a form that was traditionally connected with the *marthiya* and hence evoked in the Urdu-speaking public the feeling of devotional and exhortative contents. Hali's poem is a first sign of revivalism and political romanticism; it tells of the former glory of Islam which has now passed because the Indian Muslims are content in their poverty and misery:

The race whose step was firm on every land,
Whose banner waved in all the winds of heaven,
People whose honour all horizons knew,
'The best of nations' was their title proud—

Nothing remains of that proud folk but this:
That we still give ourselves the Muslim name!¹¹

In long laments the poet chides his compatriots who have forgotten all their former greatness: the ulema specialize in intolerance, the physicians ignore modern science, the poets are parasites in a bankrupt society, etc. Hali's poem, to which he later added some more optimistic verses, immediately caught the minds of the Indian Muslims and made them conscious of their situation: it was the first great Indo-Muslim poem that touched reality instead of dwelling upon metaphorical or divine love. In his *Muqaddima-i shi'r u sha'iri*, Hali mercilessly criticized the traditional poets because he felt that neither highsoaring mystical dreams nor complicated rhetorical devices, let alone the flirtatious and immoral tone of the Lucknow ghazal, could help the Muslims face their basic duties and lead them toward a more glorious future. One generation later one finds the same attitude in Iqbal, whose *Shikwa*, 'Lament' and 'The Answer' to the 'Lament', follow Hali's model, as he follows him also in his condemnation of useless, hence poisonous poetry.

Longing for the lost glory of Islam and hope for the amelioration of the society were also the main topics of a newly emerging literary genre, the Urdu novel. Victorian educational books on the one hand and Sir Walter Scott's heroic novels on the other offered some Indo-Muslim writers in the later 19th century practical models. One topic was particularly important for the reformist novelists, headed by Deputy Nazir Ahmad (1831-1912): the situation of women and family, to which Hali had devoted his *Majlis an-nisā* in 1874. To be sure, not all of them went so far as Mumtaz 'Ali, who in his Aligarh-

¹¹ Transl. T. G. Bailey, *Urdu Literature*, p. 96. A recent translation: A. R. Luther, *Truth unveiled. A translation of Musaddas-e-Hali*, 1978.

inspired journal *Tahdhīb an-niswān* and his book *Huqūq an-niswān* expressed the idea that forcing the veil upon women is an act of injustice, and who hoped that after this time of transition one day 'highly educated women would be men's companions in coming generations and provide for them that interest at home which they now lack...'.¹

Nazir Ahmad—a civil servant who had, among other items, translated the Income Tax Act into Urdu, and whose translation of the Koran was acclaimed by Baba-yi Urdu 'Abdulhaqq as 'the best Urdu version' of the Holy Book—set a model for writers in his *Mir'āt al-ʿarūs*, 'The Bride's Mirror' (1869), where he juxtaposes an indolent, lazy and disinterested girl with an active, industrious and lovable woman who makes her family happy, supports her husband morally, and founds a school for girls in her quarter where they learn to read and to write. 'Home classes for purdah ladies' was in those years a most important topic; Justice Shah Din, a leading educationalist from Lahore, in 1887 pointed out the miserable condition of female education and, like many others, advocated a good training for girls, if not in scholarly pursuits, then at least in the basic skills of reading, writing, arithmetic, hygiene, and home economics. The ideals of the reformers are reflected in a little poem about a doll that embodies the ideal woman:

I have made her myself from brocade...
 She can write a little letter to a girl friend.
 Thanks to God's grace my doll can write;
 She knows by heart legal questions, has Prophetic traditions on her tongue,
 My doll knows also the *sūras* of the Koran...

for in pious middle class families the ladies of the house often committed the Koran to memory and were deeply steeped in the knowledge of traditions in Urdu translation, like *Mishkāt al-maṣābīh*, *Mashāriq al-anwār*, etc.; sometimes they also read Persian. The clever doll in the poem of course also knows how to cook and keep accounts—for after all the lady of the house was, even behind the veil, responsible for the hospitality which her husband extended to his visitors; and thus his generosity would be measured by her achievements.

A school for girls became almost a must in the reformist novels of the late 19th century. In Sind, where the *Sind madrasatu'l-Islam* had been founded on Aligarh lines by Hasan 'Ali Afandi, the Turkish honorary consul in Karachi, Mirza Qalich Beg, the untiring writer and translator in Sindhi, published as early as in 1892 a novel *Zinat*. Here, he speaks against early marriages 'which make people weak soon', and goes so far as to make his heroine leave purdah and discard the veil, although in the beginning she rejects her husband's proposal to do so—an attitude typical of many purdah ladies who, from the

security of their homes, without contact with the confusing world might even pity the modern woman 'who has to carry her handbag herself' and has to go out in crowded streets while in the good old days 'the bazaar would come to the house'. Qalich Beg's approach to the problem was all the more surprising as in Sind honorable women were even more strictly secluded than in other parts of the country. And yet a girls' school was founded in Karachi before the close of the century by Allahbakhsh Abbujha. In this connection one should not underrate the model of the numerous Parsee ladies in Bombay and Karachi who went about unveiled and who excelled in social activities from encouraging Urdu theatre to building hospitals and schools. Further, the very fact that the British sovereign was a queen helped the reformers in emphasizing the innate talents of women. And was not Bhopal, the second largest Muslim-ruled princely state in India, a good contemporary example of a whole dynasty of Muslim female rulers?

The plots of all educational novels were rather thin, and their heroes and heroines have been styled as 'monstrosities of virtues' (Muhammad Sadiq); but this is a trend which they share with their models in Victorian England and Germany. Likewise, from the days of Sir Sayyid and even more of Syed Ameer Ali onwards, collections of biographies of illustrious Muslim women became quite fashionable in the Subcontinent, both in Urdu and English.

Nazir Ahmad, who successfully depicted the evils of polygamy and the necessity of education, as well as of the remarriage of widows, was warmly applauded by both British and Indian readers, for he offered for the first time scenes taken from a normal middle class home, with natural dialogues; the old romantic world of legends and fairies which had formed the background of Persian and Urdu tales was completely discarded. In spite of the similarity of their aims, however, Nazir Ahmad could not fully agree with Sir Sayyid's pro-Western attitude; his novel *Ibn al-waqt* discusses the problems of a young Muslim who gives himself totally to the foreigners and discovers all too late that his enthusiasm has been used to make him a tool of their scheming.

An important place in the cultural-theological discussion in India during the last quarter of the 19th century was taken by the press. The *Oudh Punch*, founded in 1877, was outspokenly anti-Sir Sayyid, and it was in this widely circulating paper that the best satirist of the Urdu language published most of his poetry. This is Akbar Allahabadi (1846-1921), who rose to the rank of High Court Judge. Trained in the sophisticated Lucknow style, he is perhaps the only Muslim writer who criticized in elegant verse both the overstressed attempts at modernisation and the hypocrisy among those whose Islam consisted merely of following the externals of the faith but who acted contrary to its spirit. As he says:

You can wear these socks and shoes
 And make love to Miss d'Souze.
 If you only fast and pray,
 You can live and love as you choose.³²

And in one of his lines he contrasts Darwin's ideas with the lofty words of 'Mansur' Hallaj, the martyr of mystic love, using a hemistich by Hafiz as conclusion:

Mansur said: 'I am God!' Darwin said: 'I am a monkey!'—
 Everyone's thought is in accordance with his ambition.

It is difficult here not to think of Nietzsche's remark in *Thus spake Zarathustra* (1883):

Once you were monkeys, and even now man is more of a monkey than any monkey...Look,
 I teach you the Superman!

a remark which Akbar certainly did not know but which must have been known thirty years later to Iqbal for whom Hallaj becomes, in some parts of his work, a model of the 'true Man' of his dreams.

Much more traditional than the Aligarh group, and yet for 16 years (1882-1898) a professor of Arabic in Aligarh College, was Shibli Nu'mani (1857-1914), the founder of historiography in Urdu. A student of *fiqh* in his early days, he had come in touch during his early travels with the Naqshbandi master Khalid al-Kurdi in Damascus, who continued the line of Mazhar Janjani and was largely instrumental in spreading the teachings of Ahmad Sirhindi in the Ottoman Empire. Shibli also established contacts with Muhammad 'Abduh in Cairo. His work proves his great erudition as well as his personal ideals, for he hoped to revive Islam from within, and, contrary to Sir Sayyid, 'he approached Western values from the viewpoint of Islam'.³³ Abu Hanifa was one of his heroes, and he chose his surname Nu'mani in his honour. 'Umar al-Faruq offered him the basis of Islamic polity, which means, Islamic justice and egalitarianism, while in Ghazzali he found a synthesis of fundamentalism and mysticism, an attitude that was close to his heart. He also selected Maulana Rumi as topic for one of his studies. There he tried to show, for the first time, that Rumi's famous verse:

I died as mineral and I became a plant,
 I died as plant and rose to animal state...

should be understood as an expression of evolutionist ideas in the Darwinist sense, not as pointing to metempsychosis or similar ideas.³⁴ Shibli's last,

³² Transl. M. Mujeeb, *Islamic Influence*, p. 89.

³³ Wilfred Cantwell Smith, *Modern Islam in India*, Lahore 1947, p. 38.

³⁴ Jalaluddin Rumi, *Mathnawi-yi ma'nawi*, ed. and transl. Reynold Alleyne Nicholson, London-Leiden 1925-1940, Daftar III line 3901 ff. When criticizing Indian scholars for a certain

unfinished work is the *Strat an-nabī*, the first major Urdu biography of the Prophet, completed by his faithful friend Sayyid Sulaiman Nadwi.

Shibli, author of an inspiring work on Persian poetry (*Shi'r al-ʿajam*) sometimes wrote poems himself, such as about foreign aggression in Muslim dominions, but also some love poems dedicated to ʿAtiya Begum, the brilliant young Bohora lady from Bombay who was Iqbal's companion during his travels in Germany. In 1894, Shibli sharply criticized the traditional curriculum of the Indian Islamic institutions which clung too much to the words of the texts and, in science, neglected everything that had been discovered after the Greeks. He therefore founded the *Nadwat al-ʿulamā* in Lucknow, a seminar which was to steer a course between the excessive modernism of Aligarh and the traditionalism of Deoband (see p. 209) and bring about a rapprochement between the various factions of ulema. It was the first institution in India to adopt modern methods of criticism, and its basic objectives were, as the simple pamphlet on the occasion of its 85th (hijri) anniversary in 1975 says:

- Reformation of the curricula of Muslim religious institutions and preparation of a new syllabus for them;
- providing facilities for religious education with the view of producing scholars who should be well-versed in religious sciences as well as fully acquainted with modern education and trends of thought;
- fostering the spirit of unity and concord among the Muslims,
- and
- propagating Islamic teachings and disseminating its message, particularly among the non-Muslims.

The English language formed part of the curriculum. The *Nadwa* indeed attracted students from 'Africa, Burma, Malaya, Tibet, Nepal, Madagascar, and several other countries'. Another offspring of Shibli's activities is the *Dār al-muṣannifīn* in Aʿzamgarh, founded soon after his death; from there, the useful Urdu journal *Maʿārif* is published.

While Sir Sayyid and his followers tried to disseminate their ideas primarily among the Indian Muslims, and therefore wrote in Urdu, another modernist thinker turned to Europe and composed his books in English to convince the West of the greatness and glory of Islam. It was Sir Sayyid's younger contemporary Syed Ameer Ali from a Shia family in Bengal, who was educated in Hooghly College, and had been influenced also by Karamat ʿAli Jaunpuri. At the same time as Ahmad Khan, in 1869, he went to England where he was call-

narrowmindedness, or for clinging to special theories one should remember that only a rather moderate amount of English scholarly books were available to them; hence they repeated certain points of philosophy or science which might have impressed Western readers very little or not at all, or were, in the West, soon superseded by more recent discoveries. The emphasis on Darwinism in India is an example for this trend.

ed to the bar in 1873. After his return he founded in 1877 the National Mahomedan (sic!) Association 'to promote good feeling and fellowship between the Indian races and creeds, and at the same time to protect and safeguard Mahomedan interests and help their political training'. Some of his books are standard works of Anglo-Muhammadan law; he was elected in 1883 one of the three Indian members of the Viceroy's Council, and settled in 1909 in London where he died, after a successful life, in 1928.

During his first stay in London Ameer Ali felt that he had to reply to an English study on the Prophet Muhammad, and noted down the first draft of his 'Life of Muhammad' which slowly developed into the work upon which his fame rests: 'The Spirit of Islam' (1891 and often since). It is a liberal modernist interpretation of Islam, and amazingly enough, in spite of the author's Shia background he even glorifies the first three caliphs. He draws a colourful picture of the glory of Islam, and had a stronger feeling for the 'religious' aspects of this culture than Sir Sayyid; thus he presents Islam as a civilizing force, a grand, noble, and modern religion; and when Sir Sayyid held that Islam is compatible with progress, Syed Ameer Ali claimed that Islam is progress in itself.⁵⁵ Was not Muhammad superior to Jesus, whose work was left unfinished? Was not medieval Muslim culture superior to anything in Christian culture? Thus he writes about Spain:

Above all, Spain, at one time the favoured haunt of learning and the arts would not have become the intellectual desert it now is, bereft of the glories of centuries. Who has not mourned over the fate of that noble race, exiled by the mad bigotry of a Christian sovereign from the country of its adoption, which it had made famous among nations...The shades of the glorious dead, of Averroes and Avempace, of Wallada and Aisha sit weeping by the ruined haunts of their people, haunts silent now to the voice of minstrelsy, or chivalry, of learning, and of art—only echoing at times the mad outcries of religious combatants, at times the fierce sounds of political animosities. Christianity drove the descendants of these Muslim Andalusians into the desert, sucked out every element of vitality from beautiful Spain, and made the land a synonym for intellectual and moral desolation.⁵⁶

Syed Ameer Ali's *Short History of the Saracens* (1899) is grown out of this conviction; in fact, a special feature of Muslim reformist-revivalist movements from Hali's *Musaddas* onward is the interest in Muslim Spain which forms a favourite topic for novels, studies, and poems—Iqbal's great poem *Masjid-i Qurquba* is the last major expression of this longing for the glorious Muslim past of the Iberian Peninsula.

Ameer Ali's book on the one hand and Shibli's *Strat an-nabī* on the other are excellent examples of a trend that grew stronger and broader in the

⁵⁵ W. C. Smith, *Modern Islam in India*, p. 56. Syed Ameer Ali's memoirs are published in IC V 1931 and VI 1932.

⁵⁶ Ahmad-Grunebaum, *Muslim Self-Statement*, p. 109.

decades after the 'Mutiny'—the new interest in the person of the Prophet. The Indian Muslims were confronted with Christian missionaries who were anything but friendly when it came to the beloved Prophet of Islam; it is understandable that the first English biographies of Muhammad, especially that of W. Muir, outraged the pious. Since the Muslims could claim to have always paid due respect to Jesus the prophet and his virgin mother, they were horrified to see how the picture of their prophet was distorted in Western publications. That was yet another reason for their avoiding missionary schools. Wilfred Cantwell Smith has succinctly pointed to the importance of literature about the Prophet that grew after 1880 in Muslim India.³⁷ The roots of this movement lie deep: not only was the Prophet represented as the mystical beloved of God, the intercessor at Doomsday, and the performer of wonderful miracles in the folk poetry of the regional languages and in high Persian and Urdu literature, but the great Delhi theologians of the 18th century too built their theology around him, for it is Muhammad whose inclusion in the profession of faith makes Islam a distinct religion. Shah Waliullah and Mazhar saw in him the nation builder, and Dard was the promotor of the *ṭarīqa muḥammadiyya*, which inspired the freedom fighters of the 1820's in their *jihād* (similarly to the Muhammad-centred freedom movements of the Tijaniyya and Sanusiyya in North Africa at about the same time). The Prophet was admired more than before as the true guide; modernists like Sir Sayyid helped to unshroud him from the mist of legends that had enveloped him over the centuries. To know more about him, to see in him the model not only for details of ritual but rather for the whole approach to life was the duty of the Muslims, as the reformers understood it, and the strong veneration of his person, which goes parallel with the 19th-century Protestant emphasis on the *Leben Jesu* rather than on the mystery of Christ, culminates in Iqbal's bold statement in the *Jāvidnāma*:

You can deny God, but you cannot deny the Prophet.³⁸

* * *

The response to the encroachment of Western ideas and customs upon Muslim India came in different ways. The name of Shah Waliullah seems to form the keynote of almost every movement, from Sir Sayyid's 'rational supernaturalism' (thus J. M. S. Baljon) to the attitude of the conservatives. One of the orthodox groups became known as *ahl-i ḥadīth*. They considered the Koran and the authentic tradition to be the only true guide in life and therefore felt not bound by *ijmā'* and became entangled with the ruling school

³⁷ W. C. Smith, *Modern Islam in India*, p. 69 ff.

³⁸ *Jāvidnāma*, Lahore 1932, line 608.

of the Hanafites, who minded their aversion to Abu Hanifa (and in fact to all founders of religious schools). In later times (thus in Sind in the 1920's) this antagonism sometimes resulted in political friction. Advocating a rather sober trend, the *ahl-i ḥadīth* rejected saint worship, although they did not reject Sufism as such; again, like the Wahhabis, they turned against innovations, particularly those that were a result of Hindu influences. The most prominent and certainly most prolific spokesman of the *ahl-i ḥadīth* was Siddiq Hasan Khan, a much disputed person. Born to an impoverished family that claimed descent from Makhdum-i Jahaniyan and was Shia, his father, a disciple of Shah Waliullah's sons in Delhi, became a Sunni and participated with Sayyid Ahmad of Bareilly in the *jihad*. Siddiq Hasan studied in Delhi with the famous *mufī* Sadruddīn Azurda (d. 1868), a friend of Ghalib. In 1859 he was commissioned to write the history of Bhopal, like Rampur one of the princely states to which the Muslim intelligentsia was attracted after 1857. Bhopal was then ruled by Sikandar Begum, an accomplished lady who was succeeded by her daughter Shah Jahan Begum. Although Siddiq Hasan Khan had married the daughter of the Prime Minister of Bhopal who bore him several children, he was elected Nawwab Consort of Shah Jahan Begum in 1870. This marriage of the widowed princess caused quite a stir, partly because of the prejudice against the remarriage of widows, partly because of the person of her consort who, as we may assume, tried with this marriage also to implement his master Ahmad Shahid's example of marrying widows. The princess retired into *purdah*, but ruled through her husband. The family strongly disapproved of 'the *maulwī* from Qannauj', and in 1885 the British disposed him since they suspected him of pan-Islamic propaganda and disliked the 'malign influence of the penniless adventurer', as the British press wrote. Siddiq Hasan Khan died in 1890; the female succession in Bhopal continued successfully for another generation, and the court remained a stronghold of literary and religious activities.

Siddiq Hasan Khan condensed his religious views in the Persian verse:

I fill my skirt with roses from the Book and the *sunna*;
'Intellect' and 'opinion' look to me like straw and grass.

He was the author of numberless works on religious topics, mainly connected with *ḥadīth*, so that a modern Bengali traditionalist fondly calls him 'our Indian Suyuti'.³⁹ He tried to embody the old Sufi ideals prefigured in the Koran, the threefold way of *islām*, *īmān*, and *iḥsān*, and required conformity to the minutiae of ritual as well as an attempt to produce an exemplary pattern of peaceful domestic life. Since his last work was an Urdu translation of 'Abdul-

³⁹ Ishaq, *India's Contribution to the Study of ḥadīth*, p. 175.

qadir Gilani's *Futūḥ al-ghaib* it would be surprising if he had denounced Sufism; rather, he accepted the possibility of mystical illumination and often talked about his own dreams and visions; but he regarded the speculative excesses of some Sufis as dangerous. As a means of propagating Islam in the Subcontinent Sufism had been most useful; its overstressed theosophic tendencies, however, created a gap between the spiritual and the natural which is contrary to the ideals of pristine Islam. Siddiq Hasan's own ideas stem from the Shah Waliullah school (indeed, the *Hujjat Allāh al-bāligha* was lithographed for the first time in Bhopal in 1285h/1868):

Among them [the Indian ulema] I found only the followers of Sayyid Ahmad Shahid...to follow Islam in the right form and having guided many people to the straight path of Islam.⁴⁰

That means, he follows the *ṭarīqa muhammadiyya*, and the quietistic attitude which he advocates in the treatise *Iqtirāb as-sā'at* sounds as though it were taken from a *Risāla* of Mir Dard, whose books belonged to those religious classics which the Nawwab Consort had printed in his press in Bhopal:

In time of disruption there is an obligation on each man to break his bow and arrow, sword and spear. One should not oneself kill anyone, nor take part in the killing of anyone, nor oneself raise any dissention, nor counsel anyone to dissent; but rather if anyone overpower or kill a person, then he should accept violence or the death with patient strength—it is in every wise better to be the victim than the perpetrator of wrongdoing. The present world is a dream and a mirage; those who dwell here are travellers. If one's eyes be closed, even to that is nothing, for the Otherworld remains, and its rightness is preferable...The stirring up of dissention became known as Islam, and disruption is thought of as reform...⁴¹

The *fitan* 'anarchic evils', especially those produced by the Shia, are mentioned in this book as signs of the appearance of the *dajjāl*; but Siddiq Hasan intends particularly those *fitan* stirred up by Sir Sayyid, 'the modern prophet of nature worshippers', and by Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, the founder of the Ahmadiyya...And it is somewhat ironical that the man who spoke of the eschatological reversal of laws, e.g., 'when women would be supreme and fools shall be lords', married a ruling princess.

The *ahl-i ḥadīth* had a few active followers. An All India *Ahl-i ḥadīth* Conference with headquarters in Delhi, where Sayyid Nadhir Husain had

⁴⁰ Saeedullah, *Life and Works of Nawab Siddiq Hasan Khan*, Lahore 1973. — The Bhopal family remained active in politics: 1901 Shah Jahan Begum was succeeded by her daughter Sultan Jahan Begum, whose son Hamidullah Khan was educated in Aligarh and tried to mediate between the Congress and the Muslim League in 1946; at his court, Sir Sayyid's grandson, and Iqbal's friend, Sir Ross Masood, served as Education Minister. Bhopal merged with the Indian Union in 1949; the heir apparent, Abida Sultan, played an important role in Pakistani politics, thus as ambassador.

⁴¹ Ahmad-Grunebaum, *Muslim Self-Statement*, p. 88. Saeedullah, p. 63, claims that this treatise is a translation of Sayyid Muhammad Barzanji's *Isha'at li-isharat as-sā'at*.

taught *ḥadīth* for half a century, held its first meeting in 1912. They were attacked by another small group, the *ahl al-qurʾān*, who considered the Koran the most perfect and unique source of revelation.

Much more influential for the formation of Muslim thought than these groups was the theological school of Deoband. Its spiritual fathers were Shah Waliullah and more recently Hajji Imdad Allah (1815-1899), an obviously charismatic leader with mystical propensities (he belonged to the Chishtiyya Sabiriyya) who played a certain role in the rebellion of 1857.⁴² At that time his mosque was burnt down, and he declared *jihād*; afterwards he migrated to Mecca where he delivered lectures, in the beginning mainly on Rumi's *Mathnawī*. He attracted numerous young Indians who performed the pilgrimage to Mecca and became a kind of father figure for the Deobandis. The school itself was founded by Hajji Muhammad ʿAbid Husain with the support of three scholars from the Education Department in Delhi; its patron principal was Maulana Muhammad Nanaṭawī (1832-1880), the nephew of Mamluk ʿAlī of Delhi College and disciple of Imdad Allah. In a small Persian poem he, 'submersed in sin', implored God in truly Sufi spirit:

Burn my heart by Thy love!
Stitch my heart and soul with the arrow of Thy pain!
Annihilate my heart in Thy recollection!
Make me according to Thy goal!⁴³

He and Rashīd Ahmad Gangohi built up the *Dār al-ʿulūm* in Deoband in which traditional courses were given to the exclusion of modern sciences and English; the full course was scheduled first for ten years, then reduced to six years, and the student had to study 106 books. (Parts of Rumi's *Mathnawī* belonged to the advanced Persian course). In the eight principles for the foundation of Deoband as outlined by Maulana Nanaṭawī, one senses a reminiscence of the early Chishti aversion to official grants and the complete trust in *futūḥ*, unsolicited gifts:

So long as the Madrasah does not have any regular and definite source of income, it will continue to exist—insha Allah, provided there is a honest reliance on and faith in His mercy and compassion; and when it comes to possess a definite source of income, e.g., some substantial property in the form of land or factory or a promise of permanent donation from some rich person of honest intentions, then it appears the Madrasah will be divested of the feelings of fear and hope—a perennial source of submission to the will of Allah—and with this, will be deprived of the hidden source of unfailing assistance; and its workers will start quarrelling among themselves...⁴⁴

In 1893 a department of *iftā* was added which issued an enormous number of

⁴² Imdad Allah had asked Sir Sayyid to translate Ghazzālī's *Kīmīyā-yi saʿādāt* into Urdu, Troll, *Sayyid Ahmad Khan*, p. 41.

⁴³ Ikram, *Armaghan-i Pak*, p. 326 f.

⁴⁴ Faruqi, *Deoband School*, p. 26.

juridical *fatwās* in the decades to come.⁴⁵ While the other traditional institutions in India specialized in certain fields—Delhi in *tafsīr* and *ḥadīth*, Lucknow in *fiqh*, and Khairabad in *kalām*—Deoband, proudly called 'the Azhar of the East', aimed at a synthesis of all aspects of religious learning and 'put its emphasis upon the building up of a religious personality'—although there was little chance for a graduate to find any employment in government service.

For the early Deobandis Sir Sayyid was 'deadly poison',⁴⁶ and they refuted his fifteen principles in which he had laid down his credo in 1874; but it was the religious rather than the educational aspect of his ideas to which they objected. His aversion to the Indian National Congress led them to sympathize with the Congress and not to stand for a separate Muslim nationhood in the Subcontinent. But in spite of their nationalist feelings they fought against the Ārya Samāj and its growing policy of re-Hinduisation. In this struggle, a solid knowledge of truly Islamic ideals and values was certainly required. Hence Rashid Ahmad Gangohi—more Sufi-minded than his friends—intensely condemned philosophy, as the mystics of old had always done:

I think that *falsafa* is a useless discipline...it mars the proper understanding of the *sharī'a* and under its sordid influence, men are led to express heretical views and are lost in the dark and swarthy world of *falsafa*. This devilish art, therefore, has been banished from the *madrassa*...⁴⁷

The school was built to offer residential facilities for 1500 students, many of whom belonged to the poorer classes, and also came from the Tribal Areas; later they would come from far away corners of the Islamic world to find in Deoband a library with a fine stock of Arabic, Persian and Urdu books, most of them being gifts from publishers. Among the donators Nawal Kishor of Lucknow is worthy of mention, who, though a Hindu, rendered unsurpassable services to Persian and Urdu learning through his numerous lithographs of classical works in these languages.

One of the scholars who received his education in Deoband is Ashraf 'Alī al-Faruqī Thanawī (1863-1943). Initiated into the Chishtiyya by Hajjī Imdad Allāh during his pilgrimage, he returned to India to settle finally in Thanā Bhawan, where he produced an enormous output of learned books, from a twelve-volume Urdu commentary on the Koran (printed in Delhi in 1916) to works in defence of Ibn 'Arabī, showing that Ibn 'Arabī 'upheld the law of the Prophet and the orthodox ritual of Islam, and that these texts in the *Fuṣūṣ*

⁴⁵ The *fatāwā-i Dārul-Ulām* were published in Deoband in ten volumes 1962-1975. M. Mujeib, *Islamic Influence*, p. 39, states that the '*sharī'a*' was not studied to refute European criticism; only everything Islamic came to be admired with greater fervour.'

⁴⁶ Troll, *Sayyid Ahmad Khan*, p. 276.

⁴⁷ Faruqī, *Deoband School*, p. 31.

and the *Futūḥāt* neutralized his other judgments'.⁴⁸ But his most interesting work from the cultural viewpoint is *Bihishṭī zīwar* in ten volumes, a book that covers every single aspect of feminine life and education and constitutes a veritable treasure house of Indo-Muslim culture. It was therefore usually given to girls as part of their dowry.

The development of Deoband reached its zenith when Mahmud al-Hasan (1851-1920), called *Shāikh al-Hind*, became the head of this institution. Deoband (which due to its initial state of poverty and refusal of government grants has been called a 'centre of proletarian dissatisfaction'⁴⁹ contrary to the upper middle class atmosphere in Aligarh,) became also the source of inspiration for the *Jam'iyat al-ʿulamā-yi Hind*, a group that was to play, along with the seminar, an important role in the Freedom Movement between the two World Wars (see p. 218).⁵⁰

The last and best known movement that sprang up in those critical years of search for new ways to survive was the Ahmadiyya, founded by Mirza Ghulam Ahmad of Qadian. Soon after its appearance a stream of pamphlets for or against it was issued in Urdu and Panjabi. Sir Sayyid did not participate in these writings, for

There is nothing in this preposterous movement, and I shall never take the trouble to write anything about the re-appearance of the Messiah, which is based on merely forged stories.

But the development showed that the 'preposterous movement' was to cause much unrest in the Muslim world, and was judged by Muslims and non-Muslims alike with every possible shade of positive or negative reaction—until the day in the autumn of 1975 that it was declared in Mecca as 'non-Islamic', a step which was followed, of course, by Pakistan and other countries.

Mirza Ghulam Ahmad of Qadian belonged to a Panjabi landlord family and died in 1908. He early developed a propensity for hearing voices and wrote in 1880, at the age of ca. 40 years, his *Barāhīn-i aḥmadiyya*. Nine years later he announced that he had a revelation to accept *baīʿa* from his disciples, and in 1891 he declared himself to be the *mahdī*. As much as his earlier zeal for the purification of Islam was admired even by the orthodox, from that time onward the controversy about his role waxed stronger; it was said that he had arrogated for himself prophetic faculties, which claim contradicted the dogma of Muhammad as the 'Seal of prophets', the last and final carrier of

⁴⁸ Yusuf Husain, *Glimpses of Medieval Muslim Culture*, London 1959, p. 64.

⁴⁹ Faruqi, *Deoband School*, p. 55.

⁵⁰ For a less prominent scholar, Abdul Hayy Lakhnawi (1848-1887), see A. A. A. Fyzee, *Modern Approach to Islam*, p. 74: his *fatawā* are 'valuable not only from the legal and theological point of view, but also because they give us an insight into the social, cultural and political issues that agitated the minds of the Muslim community...'

divine revelation—although among earlier Sufis it would not be difficult to find assertions almost identical with those of Ghulam Ahmad. As M. Mujeeb has suggested, his claim may have been the only way to build up a recognized form of authority instead of just remaining one of the numerous religious teachers¹¹—similarly to the situation of the Mahdi of Jaunpur four centuries ago. Ghulam Ahmad spoke of his divine inspirations, and his followers claimed for him the faculty of miracle working, such as causing the death of adversaries through prayer. W. Cantwell Smith's description of the movement as 'a late Sufi version of Islam activated by modern Western infiltrations'¹² is the most poignant characterisation of the Ahmadiyya.

After Mirza Ghulam Ahmad's death the community of believers was led by his *khalfah*, Maulwī Nuruddin (d. 1914), after whose demise the community split into the minority group of Lahore and the majority group of Qadian. The Lahore group around Maulana Muhammad 'Alī developed a more moderate and liberal system, and declared Ghulam Ahmad a *mujaddid*, stating that he had never voiced claims to prophethood. The group developed an increasingly successful system of missions in Europe, America, and particularly West Africa. Their numerous translations of the Koran into various languages have won over a considerable number of foreigners to Islam.

The Qadianis have a positive, concrete program for progress; but their social exclusiveness made them unpopular among the larger Muslim community. They are excellently organized; the members pay monthly dues, and are governed by a Central Advisory Council. Their educational system is strict and well arranged; their Islamic ideas are puritanic, defending purdah and polygamy. During the riots in the wake of partition, Qadian offered sanctuary to many Muslims who fled from the Sikhs; even when the majority migrated to Pakistan, Qadian still was regarded as their true centre. Emphasizing education, the Ahmadis constituted a comparatively large group in the well-to-do upper middle class of India, and even more of Pakistan, where their headquarters have been shifted after partition to Rabwah on the Chenab in the Punjab, called by this name in an allusion to Sura 2/265. One of the most remarkable doctrines of the Ahmadiyya which has led to controversies not only with their Muslim brethren but even more with Christians is their firm belief that Jesus did not die nor was he uplifted to heaven, rather, he migrated to Kashmir and is buried in Srinagar, where his tomb has allegedly been found recently. This idea has become increasingly a focal point of their propaganda, but is refused by Muslims and Christians alike.

¹¹ Mujeeb, *Islamic Influence*, p. 43.

¹² *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., s.v. Ahmadiyya (W. C. Smith).

The Ahmadiyya movement resulted in an immense output of literature in Urdu and Panjabi in which the claims of the so-called Messiah were discussed time and again. There was always a number of leading Muslims who felt that Ghulam Ahmad's followers should be excluded from the pale of Islam. Iqbal was among them; he was particularly shocked that the Ahmadis accepted a prophetically inspired leader, and that they denied the duty of *jihād*, restricting it to mere '*jihād* with the pen'. And in 1936 he wrote:

I dare say that the founder of the Ahmadiyya movement did hear a voice, but whether this voice came from the God of life and power or arose out of the spiritual impoverishment of the people must depend upon the nature of the movement which it has created and the kind of thought and emotion which it has given to those who have listened on it... All the actors who participated in the drama of Ahmadism were, I think, only innocent instruments in the hands of decadence...¹³

But before the final decision of excluding the Ahmadiyya from the pale of Islam was reached in 1975, the sect was to play an important role on the Pakistani religious scene after partition, and orthodox hatred against it led to the Punjab disturbances of 1953, the first major religious crisis in Pakistan.

In the colourful spectrum of responses to the challenge of modernization some of the minority groups inside Islam were destined to play a decisive role. When Badruddin Tyabjee became the first Muslim president of the Congress and thus in a certain way competed with Sir Sayyid for leadership among the Muslims, the Times of India remarked condescendingly that he belonged to 'a small sect...who have little in common with the war-like Mohamedan people of Upper India...'¹⁴

The Tyabjee family of Bombay indeed belonged to one of the smallest minorities among the Muslims, the Sulaimani Bohoras, who had split from the Da'udi Bohoras in the late 16th century. The first prominent member of the family, Tyabali, was a successful businessman in Bombay; he was the first Muslim to send his sons abroad for education in 1851, and the first ladies of the widely intermarried Tyabjee-Fyzee family left purdah in 1894. Members of a minority group who had always raised some suspicions, if not outright persecutions among their orthodox Sunni compatriots, the Tyabjee 'did not share the increasingly dysfunctional feudal values of the North Indian and Deccani nobility' and thus built up without qualms the new upper middle

¹³ Iqbal, *Open Letter to Pandit Nehru*, 1936.

¹⁴ Theodore P. Wright, Jr., 'Muslim Kinship and Modernization: The Tyabji Clan of Bombay', in Imtiaz Ahmad, (ed.), *Family, Kinship and Marriage in Indian Islam*, pp. 217-238.

class, in which entrepreneurs and western educated lawyers were dominant. It is a fact that in the old British strongholds Bengal, Bombay and Madras the Muslims developed new social consciousness earlier than in Delhi, where still dreams of the glorious Moghul past coloured their hopes and wishes; and the emerging middle class, something completely new in Indian Islam, were much more inclined to indulge in political activities than the old aristocracy, let alone the Sunni orthodoxy. Not only was Badruddin Tyabjee an active member of the Congress and also a contributor to Aligarh College, many of his male relatives occupied key posts in the movements towards modernization or played a role in Indian home politics, among them also Sir Akbar Hydari, the Prime Minister of Hyderabad State. Asaf A. A. Fyzee, the greatest authority of Shia law and author of valuable works on a modern interpretation of Islam belongs to this clan as did one of the most fascinating women in modern Indo-Pakistan, Atiya Begum, Iqbal's friend in Europe, muse of some of Shibli's poems, and active worker of women's liberation; her husband Fyzee Rahamin, of non-Bohora background, was a well-known painter. Rihana Ma, the influential spiritual leader in Delhi, whose musical skill and spiritual power was widely acknowledged by Muslims and Hindus alike, was another outstanding woman of the Tyabjee family. Marriages in the last decades connected the Fyzee-Tyabjee family with leading Shia families, like the Nawwabs of Murshidabad; the offspring of this latter marriage was Iskandar Mirza, once President of Pakistan; other members married with the Bilgrami *sayyids*, but also with some outstanding Sunni families. Thus the social network of this family from a small minority group covers an amazingly great area in both India and Pakistan, and their contribution to modern Muslim life is remarkable.

The other branch of the Isma'ilis, the Khojas, became even more important on the international scene. In 1866 the rights of the Agha Khan had been acknowledged by a British judge in Bombay, and it was particularly the third Agha Khan, Sultan Muhammad Shah, who was able to establish a worldwide reputation. The Agha Khan, born a few days before Iqbal, on November 2, 1877, was the moving spirit in the foundation of the Muslim League; he participated in the *khilāfat* movement as he was always invited to the Round Table Conferences. He was successful in leading his community into the modern world and transforming them into one of the most progressive groups in the Muslim world; cooperative enterprises on a large scale, advancement of female education, and a wise and practical policy of the *hāzīr imām* laid the foundations of an educational and economic policy which is continuously progressing.

The first Muslim mayor of Bombay also was a Khoja; but the most outstan-

ding member of the community is M. A. Jinnah, born in Karachi on 25 December 1876, educated in the Sind Madrasat³ I-Islam and in Bombay, and trained in the legal profession in Great Britain. He was to become the Quaid-i A⁴zam who led the Muslim League toward Pakistan whose first Governor General he became. This, however, is part of the following chapter.

CHAPTER SEVEN

FROM THE PARTITION OF BENGAL TO THE PARTITION OF THE SUBCONTINENT—THE AGE OF IQBAL

The various responses to British rule that emerged among the Indian Muslims of different denominations during the last quarter of the 19th century resulted in a growing self-consciousness of the Muslim community. As can be seen from the very names of associations that were formed during those years, an important aspect of this movement was the refutation of attacks against Islam, protection of Muslim interests, care for Muslim orphans, etc. (like *Anjuman-i himāyat-i Islām* in the Punjab); for during those same years some Hindu organisations sprang up which tried to perpetuate the classical world-view of Hinduism, such as the Cow Protection Society or the celebrations to commemorate the Maratha leader Shivaji, introduced in 1895 by the Maratha politician G. B. Tilak. The mystique of Hinduism was also readily accepted in certain Western circles which, thanks to Anquetil Duperon's Latin translation of the Upanishads (1801) had developed an idealized picture of Hindu India, which was cemented by Annie Besant's Theosophical Society and found a palpable expression in Tagore's receiving the Nobel Prize in 1913.

In 1905 the Viceroy, Lord Curzon, decided on a partition of the overlarge province of Bengal on communalist lines, an act which resulted in the fierce antagonism of mainly the Hindus and in the first major communal clashes. The partition had finally to be recalled in 1911, leaving, however, bitter feelings in both communities.

The first political representation of the Muslims was achieved when in 1906 the Muslim League was founded. The moving spirit behind it was the Agha Khan, who led the deputation to the Viceroy who granted status to the League in Simla in 1906. Other prominent participants in the foundation of the League were Muhsin al-mulk, Sir Sayyid's friend, Sayyid Husain Bilgrami, Imad al-mulk, and the Shia Nawwab of Dacca. The aim of the Muslim League was 'to protect and advance the political rights and interests of the Musulmans of India' without being directed against the British Government; rather, its founders were loyalist Muslim representatives of modern outlook, and their followers were recruited largely from the landed gentry and upper middle class. For this reason the new body was not welcomed by the more traditionalist elements like Maulana Shibli among the Indian Muslims; the

Deobandis continued fighting it in the decades to come (see p. 237). Although the League had some very prominent Shia leaders among its founders, a particular All India Shia Conference began to function in 1907; for between 1904 and 1908 quite a few conflicts between Sunnis and Shiites are recorded. The moving spirit in the Shia Conference was the Raja of Mahmudabad, whose son later became a benefactor of the Pakistan Movement but settled, disappointed with both India and Pakistan, some time after partition in London.

But while the Muslim League represented the tradition of loyalty towards the British which Sir Sayyid had personified, the first Muslim anti-loyalist papers and journals were started briefly after its foundation. From Aligarh, *Urdū-yi mu'allā* was published by the fiery poet Hasrat Mohani (1875-1951) who during his long life passed through various political phases, trying everything between Muslim League and communism, and who regarded himself as 'a dervish and revolutionary'. In Lahore Maulana Zafar 'Ali (1870-1950), 'a master of topical satire',¹ produced the *Zamīndār*, an aggressive, strongly anti-British paper which set the model for numerous others which were to emerge between the two World Wars. In Lahore, too, Shaikh (later Sir) 'Abdulqadir founded the more literary-educational journal *Makhzan* in which some of Iqbal's early poems were published. Of special importance was *Al-Hilāl* (1912), the progressive paper of Abu'l-Kalam Azad who in the course of time became the leading Indian Muslim to speak for the Congress and against partition. Azad was born in 1888 in Mecca, where his father had migrated after 1857; he studied in Calcutta, learned English under the influence of Sir Sayyid's writings, and became interested in the revolutionary, anti-British forces in Bengal in which Chakravarti and Shri Aurobindo played a leading role. A journey to Egypt, Turkey and France strengthened his anti-British bias, so that in 1912 he founded his well-written, type-printed journal which took a clear stance against the pro-British politics of the Aligarh group and was, therefore, banned after some time. In 1915 Azad started another paper, *Al-Balāgh*. Slightly earlier Muhammad 'Ali 'Gauhar' (born 1878 in Rampur and educated in Aligarh and Oxford) had commenced to publish the English *Comrade* (1911) and one year later the Urdu journal *Hamdard*, both of them destined to influence the Muslim intelligentsia deeply by their ardent pan-Islamic tenor.

The Morley-Minto reform of 1909 granted the Muslims the right of separate electorates, the first step towards their political goal. Still the aversion to the foreign rule increased. A decisive moment in the development of Indo-Muslim

¹ *Encyclopedia of Islam*, Vol. III, p. 358 s.v. *hijā'*.

self-consciousness was the Balkan War of 1912 during which a medical mission, inspired by Maulana Muhammad 'Ali, was sent to Turkey. He also published at the beginning of World War I his book *The Choice of the Turks*, which caused the British to jail him. The fact that during the war Indian troops, which were predominantly Muslims, were forced to fight against the Turks, for whom they had a long standing admiration and whose Sultan was, after all, at least theoretically the caliph of the Islamic world, complicated the situation. *Shaikh al-Hind* Mahmud al-Hasan of Deoband had left for Mecca in 1913 to avoid arrest by the British government; from there he and his cooperators tried to gain support from the Turks for the Indian Freedom movement. The Turkish Minister of War, Enver Pasha, was supposed to attack India through the Khyber Pass, and fight the British. The political machinations from Mecca and Kabul, which culminated in the so-called 'Silken Letter Conspiracy' in which 'Ubaidullah Sindhi (see p. 236) was involved, failed, and after the Arab revolt in December 1916 the *Shaikh ul-Hind* was banished to Malta.

In India itself the communalist tensions seemed to diminish under the pressure of the war, and the Lucknow Pact of 1916 (in whose arrangement a brilliant London-trained lawyer from the Khoja community in Karachi, M. A. Jinnah, played an important role) seemed to lead to an understanding in basic political matters. The Hindu-Muslim unity was further cemented by the massacre in Jalianwala Bagh in April 1919, during which 279 Indians of both communities were killed by the British.

In the same year, the recently founded *Jam'iyat al-'ulamā-yi Hind*, a Deoband-inspired body, issued a *fatwā* for non-violence and non-cooperation,² thus following Gandhi's ideas, while Gandhi in turn promised his help for a Muslim movement for the maintenance and strengthening of the caliphate. The *fatwā*—like Shaikh al-Hind's Meccan activities—shows that the Deoband leaders were interested in practical politics, hoping to implement their strictly Islamic ideals in the Muslim community by actively participating

² The main objectives of the *Jam'iyat al-'ulamā-yi Hind* were: 'to guide the followers of Islam in their political and non-political matters from a religious point of view; to defend, on *shar'ī* ground, Islam, centres of Islam (the *jazīrat al-'arab* and the seat of the caliphate), Islamic ritual and customs and Islamic nationalism against all odds injurious to them; to achieve and protect the general religious and national rights of the Muslims; to organize the ulema on a common platform; to organize the Muslim community and launch a program for its moral and social reform; to establish good and friendly relation with the non-Muslims of the country to the extent permitted by the *shar' al-Islāmiyya*; to fight for the freedom of the country according to *shar'ī* objectives; to establish religious courts to meet the religious needs of the community; to propagate Islam, by way of missionary activities, in India and foreign lands; to maintain and strengthen the bond of unity and fraternal relations (as ordained by Islam) with the Muslims of other countries'. Faruqi, *Deoband School*, p. 68 f.

in the political struggle, being 'thoroughly dissatisfied with things as they were',¹ contrary to most scholars of the Firangi Mahal and the Nadwat al-*ʿulama*, and contrary also to the Bareilly school whose representatives were rather immobile and who perpetuated the prevailing situation, so much so that Maulana Ahmad Riza Khan (1856-1921), the founder of the *Dār al-ʿulūm* in Bareilly, issued a *fatwā* against non-cooperation and fought against Hindu-Muslim fraternization.² The *Jamʿiyat al-ʿulamā* began to issue a special journal; one of its editors was a young Maulana, Abu'l-ʿAla Maududī from Aurangabad.

The idea of the *khilāfat*, in which millions of Indian Muslims fervently believed during those post-war years, had first been launched by the propagandist Jamaluddin Afghani who was in search for a political centre for the Muslims, while Sir Sayyid, not interested in pan-Islamic dreams, had rejected obedience to the Ottoman Sultan. Theoretically, there was no historical basis for the assumption that a caliph yields *spiritual* authority over all Muslims; in classical times the caliph was a political ruler and—according to the *sharʿa*—bound to follow the juridical decisions of the ulema. When the Mongols extinguished the Abbasid caliphate in Baghdad (1258) an alleged scion of that house appeared in Egypt and was used by the Mamluk rulers as well as by some Indian sultans to legitimize their rule. After the Ottoman conquest of Egypt in 1517 Sultan Selim I took the last member of this family with him to Istanbul and was, as tradition has it, invested by him with the caliphal power. But the idea of the caliph as the spiritual overlord of Muslims outside his own territory appears first in the treaty of Küçük Kaynarca (1774) when the Ottoman ruler was given the right to look after the Turkish Muslims in Russian territory, more specifically in the Crimea.

The Indian Muslims had a predilection for the Turks, the word *turk* being practically synonymous with *Muslim* since the middle ages, for the kings of Delhi as well as the Moghuls were of Turkish stock, and Turkish remained, for centuries, a language used by the military aristocracy. The interest in the Ottoman 'caliph', almost fallen into oblivion for centuries, grew stronger due mainly to Afghani's propaganda, but also as a result of the experience that Europe in conflict situations always tended to side with the Christian powers against the Muslim Turks. Thus, in January 1920 Maulana Muhammad ʿAli and his elder brother Shaukat ʿAli published the *khilāfat* manifesto, and Abu'l-Kalam Azad, who was just released from internment, became the

¹ W. C. Smith, *Islam in Modern India*, p. 387.

² His *Fatāwā-yi riṣāwiyya* printed in 12 volumes. Lately, the Brelwi school in Pakistan published much propaganda material about their founder, to counteract the influence of the Maududi group.

theoretician of the movement.³ He accepted the claim of a monarchic caliphate as the spiritual centre of Islam and intended to give this caliph some viceroys in different countries; political loyalty was due to the Ottoman caliph who was, however, a temporal, not a spiritual leader. Among the leaders of the movement were Hakim Ajmal Khan, Dr. Ansari, Maulwi 'Abdulbari from Firangi Mahal, and the Shaikh al-Hind, recently released from Malta, during the last months of his life. In June 1920 a conference was held in Larkana (Sind); here the tragic movement known as *hijra* started during which thousands of pious families from various areas, but predominantly from Sind, left India because it was, according to their religious leaders, *dar ul-harb*, and sought shelter in the Muslim neighbour state of Afghanistan. There, however, they were most unwelcome; even the negotiations of a prominent *khilāfat* leader with King Amanullah did not result in a solution, Afghanistan having to struggle with its own difficult problems. Many of the *muhājirs* perished on the road; others found their way into Soviet Central Asia.

In 1921, Maulana Azad laid down his views of Islamic ideals in the annual conference of the *Jam'iyat al-'ulamā-yi Hind*, stating,

that in the Muslim *shari'a* there is no distinction between this world and the next; that the Muslims can deserve the title of 'best community' only if they follow the Koran and the *sunna*; that the Islamic *shari'a* is the last and most perfect of all revealed laws; that the decline of Islam has been due to the decline and suspension of *ijtihād*, and preoccupation not with the essentials but with the externals and minutiae of religion.⁴

This last statement is particularly important for Azad, whose stance became more and more that of an Islamic humanitarian idealist, and who also stressed untiringly the fact that the *shari'a* does not prevent toleration of or good companionship with Hindus—a quite novel idea.

The *khilāfat* movement lost strength after a relatively short time. In 1921, the committee composed a resolution according to which continued service in the British army was religiously unlawful for Muslims, and the *Jam'iyat al-'ulamā* called during their convention in December for the election of an *amir al-hind*, who was supposed to be the deputy of the caliph. They were apparently aiming at what Peter Hardy calls 'jurisprudential apartheid' to save the identity of the Muslims in the large body of Hindu-dominated India, who saw as their goal in a free India

³ He had supported the Ottoman Caliphate already in *al-Hilal*, see P. Hardy, *Partners in Freedom and True Muslims*, Lund 1971.

⁴ Hardy, *Partners in Freedom*, p. 40.

⁵ Hardy, *Partners in Freedom* p. 34.

to find the freedom to teach true Islam but to win it in a winning way with, rather than from, the non-Muslims of India so that the latter will have their hearts softened to Islam.⁴

In the same year, 1921, the rebellion of the Mapilla at the Malabar Coast led to serious disturbances which had repercussions in the whole of India. This community of generally very poor Muslims who had revolted more than once in the past, (for the last time in 1873) fought desperately against Hindus and Christians alike and was brutally subdued by the British. An 'orgy of arrest' followed in the country. Partly as a result of the Mapilla revolt, Gandhi called off the non-cooperation movement in February 1922, an act which deeply disappointed many of the Khilafatists, who now shifted to different directions—Maulana Azad and Hakim Ajmal Khan toward the Congress, while the 'Ali brothers continued their fight for the *khilāfat*. The movement was further shaken up when Mustafa Kemal (Ataturk) abolished the sultanate in late 1923, leaving only the title of caliph to the former Ottoman sultan. Disturbed by this development, Syed Ameer Ali and the Agha Khan went to Turkey in December 1923, hoping to get Mustafa Kemal's and Ismet İnönü's support to enhance the caliph's position. Their intervention had a reverse effect; the caliphate was abolished on March 3, 1924.

The *khilāfat* movement had been, for some time, a unifying factor for the two communities; in fact it was the only mass collaboration of the two communities against the British and is therefore of the highest importance even though it did not achieve any of its goals. After 1924, the communal tensions grew again and found their outlet in many riots. A typical example of the heated atmosphere is the *Rangēla Rasūl* case: a book of this title—'The Pleasure-loving Prophet'—was published in 1924. Veneration of the Prophet, always strong in Muslim India, had been strengthened even more by the *strat* movement in the early 1920's and by numerous publications about the Prophet; hence, such an insulting publication caused two young Muslims to murder the author in 1929, an act that was widely acclaimed in the Muslim community.⁵ The aversion to the *shuddī* movement, which aimed at reconversion of former Hindus, and similar communalist Hindu movements heated the discussion, the Muslims responding to them with movements such as *tabligh*, a powerful call to Islam by untiring and eloquent preachers. The *tabligh* leaders, particularly Khwaja Hasan Nizami, called people back to a purer, stronger Islam by administering to them religious education; their propaganda was meant to reach the Untouchables as well as those groups of mixed origin among whom Hindu customs were still prevailing in spite of

⁴ Id., p. 35.

⁵ Sh. Ikramullah, *From Purdah to Parliament*, p. 46 f. G. R. Thursby, *Hindu-Muslim Relations in British India*, Leiden 1973, deals with the Arya Samaj literature against the Prophet.

outward Islamization. Gandhi's emphasis on Hindu ideology and introduction of mythical models into his political actions, which was natural for the majority in India, estranged sensitive Muslims who could not well accept his very personal religious ideas as basis for a solution of the fate of the whole country, which, after all, had an important Muslim minority for whom these ideals were absolutely alien.

The point in which the Muslims of all persuasions reacted against the Congress was the publication of the so-called Nehru-Report in 1928 which did not secure the Muslims political representation as it had been planned; the *Jam'iyat al-'ulamā* spoke against it, and M. A. Jinnah, then member of both Congress and the Muslim League, left the Congress to concentrate upon the League.

One important aspect of the new Muslim attitude towards modern life was the growing interest in education. In Hyderabad Deccan, long an important seat of Muslim culture, the Osmaniya University was founded in 1918, with Urdu as language of instruction. That required the foundation of a Translation Bureau in order to produce the necessary textbooks. This office proved very important for the spread of knowledge among the Urdu-speaking population, while the university's journal *Islamic Culture*, founded in 1928, is still regarded as one of the best publications in the field of Islamic learning. Aligarh, having since 1920 university status, was considered by the nationalist Muslims a centre of pro-British attitude, and therefore a new, independent school was founded in the same place in 1920, called *Jamia Millia*. Its founding fathers were Mahmud al-Hasan, Maulana Muhammad 'Ali, and Gandhi. In 1925 the institution shifted to Delhi where it developed into a full-fledged educational centre ranging from kindergarten to college.¹⁰ It was conceived as a nationalist, free school with Urdu as language of instruction. The *Jamia* was proud of its independence; it never accepted any grants from the British government, surviving and growing exclusively thanks to the sacrifices of the teaching staff.¹¹ It reached its zenith under the long Vicechancellorship of Dr. Zakir Husain, who was to become the first Muslim President of India after partition. Dr. Zakir Husain belonged to that group of Indian Muslim students who did not chose England for higher education, but rather went to Germany, a country cherished by Indian Muslims due to its cooperation with Turkey during World War I. This group comprised eminent scholars not only of the

¹⁰ See Sheila McDonough, 'Iqbal, Gandhi, and Muhammad Ali', in *Essays in Islamic Civilization*, Leiden 1976.

¹¹ *Abid Husain Felicitation Volume*, ed. Malik Ram, Delhi 1974, tells in the introduction that 'in 1927 every member pledged that he would serve the *Jamia Millia* for 23 years and never demand more than Rs. 150 p.m. as salary'; in practice the salaries varied between 75 and 100 rupees.

humanities, such as M. Mujeeb and Dr. S. 'Abid Husain, but also internationally renowned scientists like Dr. Raziuddin Siddiqi and Dr. Salimuzzaman Siddiqi. They were in the forefront of the freedom movement in the following years, and Dr. Zakir Husain once stated that:

Indian Muslims...would not accept the complete loss of their cultural identity. They would like to be good Muslims as well as good Indians.

During the years when an important section of leading Indian Muslims chose non-cooperation with the British, an action which often entailed prison and punishment, and when the *khilāfat* movement gained support from all strata of the society, one of the leading personalities was honoured with, and accepted, a knighthood from the British in 1922. That was Shaikh, then Sir, Muhammad Iqbal, destined to become the spiritual father of Pakistan.

Iqbal was born on November 9, 1877, a few days after the Agha Khan and eleven months after M. A. Jinnah, who was to be called by the Pakistanis the Quaid-i A'zam. It was the very year that Aligarh was beginning to function. Iqbal came from a Kashmiri family who had settled in Sialkot in the northern Punjab. He studied first in the Scottish Mission College in his hometown, then in Lahore, where the British orientalist Sir Thomas Arnold belonged to his teachers. Soon Iqbal became known as a fine poet in Urdu, writing in the new style introduced by Hali; his early poetry sings of nature and contains some free adaptations of English and Indian poetry as well as verses to be recited at the meetings of the *Anjuman-i himāyat-i Islām* in Lahore.

In 1905 Iqbal went to England to study philosophy and law; his foremost teacher in Cambridge was the neo-Hegelian McTaggart. In 1907 he left England for Germany, studied some German in Heidelberg and submitted a thesis on *The Development of Metaphysics in Persia* (November 1907) at the University of Munich. His *doktorvater* was Friedrich Hommel, incidentally the successor of Ernst Trumpp (1828-1885) whose immense philological work in Sindhi, Pashto, Balochi and Brahui as well as the translation of the *Adi Granth* make him the forerunner of what is called today Pakistan Studies. Iqbal's thesis dealt with rather unknown aspects of Persian religiosity which he presents as a logical development from the time of Zarathustra to the most recent movements, such as Babism. His own stance is at that time still coloured by the traditional Sufi interpretation of the world, i.e., by *waḥdat al-wujūd*, an attitude which fitted well into his neo-Hegelian interests.—Germany deeply impressed the young scholar, as his companion, Atiya Begum, tells in her memoirs; his admiration for Goethe was boundless, and not only is the little poem *Ek shām* written under the spell of *Wanderers Nachtlied*: the

figures of Faust and of Mephisto never ceased to intrigue Iqbal and contributed much to his ideal of the ever-striving man who will never be satisfied with his achievements.

In the years after Iqbal's return to Lahore a profound spiritual change took place in him. The vitalists became decisive for his approach to life, so that he extolled Nietzsche and Bergson and their dynamic worldview at the expense of Hegel. His early poems reflect his all-Indian feelings:

China and Arabia are ours, India is ours,
Muslims we are, the whole world is ours...

But in the days of the Balkan War he composed his first major reformist poem, *Shikwā*, 'Complaint' and, in the following year, the *Jawāb-i shikwā*, God's answer to the complaint of the depressed Muslims—in form and content certainly influenced by Hali's *Musaddas*. His *Stray Reflections*, a notebook written in 1910, clearly shows the change in emphasis and his growing interest in social and political problems. In the same year Iqbal addressed Aligarh College on the topic 'Islam as a social and political order' and reminded the audience of the glorious days of yore, complaining that 'the Indian Muslim has long since ceased to exploit the depths of his inner life'. His faith in Islam and its dynamics was, however, unshakable; Maulana Muhammad 'Ali, who wrote in 1912 an article on 'The Future of Islam', remarks:

Dr. Muhammad Iqbal declared in the strongest possible terms and in the compelling accents of sincerity his belief that Islam as a spiritual force would one day dominate the world, and with its simple nationalism purge it of the errors of superstition as well as of godless materialism.¹²

'The brilliant young man', as Maulana Muhammad 'Ali calls him, dwelt in his Urdu poems on topics that were to become the focal points of his future work, e.g., the all-conquering love of God and His Prophet, and the importance of the genuine Islamic values for the strengthening of man's personality.

Iqbal had been teaching philosophy for some time in Government College, Lahore; then he concentrated on his legal profession which, however, seemed to occupy more time than he wanted. The successful Urdu poet turned to Persian during the war; in 1915 his first Persian *mathnawī*, *Asrār-i khūdī*, appeared, written, as all his later *mathnawīs*, in the metre of Maulana Rumi's *Mathnawī*. It caused a major shock among his admirers; for the poet no longer used the lovely images and dream-like, flighty language to which the Persian-reading public was accustomed; rather, he advocated struggle and taught how to build up a strong personality. For this 'ego' he uses the word *khūdī*, 'self, selfhood', a concept thoroughly disliked by the mystical writers

¹² Mohamad Ali, *Select Writings*, ed. Afzal Iqbal, Lahore, 2nd ed. 1963, p. 57.

of Iran and India. Plato and Hafiz are attacked because they have led astray the Muslim community by their opium-like words, and instead of melancholy nightingales and melting dew-drops the powerful falcon and the hard diamond become symbols for man's goal. R. A. Nicholson, who translated the *Asrār* into English (1920) rightly remarked that 'Iqbal is a man of his age and a man in advance of his age; he is also a man in disagreement with his age'. And the poet himself claimed:

I am the voice of the poet of tomorrow!

Two years later Iqbal published a continuation of this *mathnawī*, called *Rumūz-i bekhūdī*, 'Mysteries of Selflessness', which deals with the role of the personality in a healthy Islamic society and contains what one may call his social ideals. The poet then paid homage to Goethe in the *Payām-i mashriq*, 'The Message of the East', an answer to the *West-Östlicher Divan*. This book contains some of his finest Persian verse as well as interesting appraisals of European thinkers and poets. At almost the same time, his first Urdu collection, comprising all his hitherto published verse, appeared under the title *Bāng-i darā*, 'The Sound of the Caravan Bell'—a highly significant title, since it points to Iqbal's view of himself: he is like the bell which leads the Muslims to the centre of their faith and life, the Ka'ba in Mecca, after they have gone astray in the scented rosegardens of Iran or in the glittering cities of the West. Arabian Islam is his ideal, as it had been that of Shah Waliullah and of the reformers in the early 19th century. But as much as he was an admirer of King Ibn Sa'ud who had introduced once more the stern Wahhabi form of Islam in Arabia, he also admired the reform movements of King Amanullah in Afghanistan, to whom the 'Message of the East' is dedicated.

In the following years, Iqbal participated in the activities of the Punjab Muslim League although, as some authors hold, practical politics were barely compatible with the lofty ideas he expressed in poetry. These are displayed very beautifully in the *Zabūr-i 'ajam*, 'Persian Psalms' (1927), which contains some of his finest prayer-poems. His philosophical approach to the problem of revitalization of the Muslim world is expressed in the six lectures which he delivered in 1928 in Hyderabad, Madras, and Aligarh, and which were published as *Six Lectures on the Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, to which was added a seventh chapter 'Is religion possible?'. The title of his only prosework is reminiscent of Ghazzali's *Ihyā' 'ulūm ad-dīn*. Iqbal's aim was constructive and he tried to interpret classical Islamic thought by using the whole instrumentation of modern philosophy and psychology. This approach sometimes leads to surprising results—hence the reluctance of certain European scholars to accept the *Lectures* as a truly philosophical

work. And it can be admitted that Iqbal was more a poetical or 'prophetic' philosopher than a systematic thinker.

In the end of 1930, Iqbal was asked to preside over the annual meeting of the All India Muslim League in Allahabad. It was here that he mentioned, for the first time, the idea of a separate Muslim homeland in the Subcontinent. He began his presidential address with the words:

I have given the best part of my life to a careful study of Islam, its law and policy, its culture, its history and its literature. This constant contact with the spirit of Islam, as it unfolds itself in time, has, I think, given me a kind of insight into its significance as a world fact. It is in the light of this insight, whatever its value, that, while assuming the Muslims of India are determined to remain true to the spirit of Islam, I propose not to guide you in your decisions but to attempt the humbler task of bringing clearly to your consciousness the main principle which, in my opinion, should determine the general character of these decisions.

And later he states:

I would like to see the Punjab, North West Frontier province, Sind and Balochistan amalgamated into a single state. Selfgovernment within the British Empire or without the British Empire, the formation of a consolidated North West Indian state appears to me to be the final destiny of the Muslims, at least of North West India...

The idea of a separate Muslim state or federation on Indian soil was not absolutely new; some earlier remarks pertaining to the possibility of such a solution of the communal problems are found in British sources,¹¹ and it was due to the unbending attitude of Motilal Nehru in the political scene of 1928 that even a former advocate of Hindu-Muslim unity like M. A. Jinnah turned to a more nationalist Muslim policy. Iqbal's dreamland was then named by an Indian student in London, Chaudhry Rahmat Ali, who coined the name of Pakistan from the first letters of the respective majority provinces, including Kashmir, forming a word that conveys at the same time the meaning of 'Country of the Pure'. But it took the Muslim League still a decade to accept the achievement of an independent Pakistan as their final political goal. Did not Iqbal write in his diary of 1910:

Nations are born in the hearts of poets; they prosper and die in the hands of politicians.

In the last months of 1931, Iqbal participated in the second Round Table Conference in London as a member of the Indian Muslim delegation under the leadership of the Agha Khan. On his return, he attended the World Muslim Congress in Jerusalem. In the late autumn of 1932 Iqbal returned to London for the third Round Table Conference; on his way home he visited Henri Bergson, whom he had long admired, in Paris, and saw Louis

¹¹ Azizuddin Ahmad Bilgrami, *An open letter to Mahatma Gandhi*, containing a scheme for the partition of the Subcontinent written and published in 1920, Karachi, Pak. Hist. Soc. 1970.

Massignon, with whom he discussed his 'Nietzschean interpretation of Hallaj'. From France he went to Spain, lectured in Madrid and visited the mosque of Cordova, which inspired one of his greatest Urdu poems. In Italy the poet-philosopher met Mussolini, to whom he had devoted a praise poem; however, he changed his admiring attitude after the Italians invaded Abyssinia.

In 1932 Iqbal's *opus magnum* appeared. The *Jāvidnāma*, 'Book of Eternity', dedicated to his young son Javid, describes the poet's journey through the spheres under the guidance of Maulana Rumi who introduces him to representatives of various religions and countries. Finally the poet reaches, alone, the Divine Presence; but even there he cannot help inquiring about the fate of the Indian Muslims... The name which Iqbal assumes in this poem—*Zindarūd*, 'Living Stream'—goes back to the image of the living river under which Goethe had described the Prophet Muhammad in a poem which Iqbal had transposed into Persian in the *Payām-i mashriq*. The *Jāvidnāma* contains Iqbal's ideas in a nutshell, and the Western reader cannot but admire the skill with which symbols from and insight into the different religious traditions of the world are used to convey the poet's ideal of constant movement, of untiring wandering through the stages of life until man finally reaches the Divine Presence where life is 'growing without diminishing'.

In the autumn of 1933 the poet-philosopher was invited by Nadir Shah of Afghanistan to discuss the problem of a university in Kabul; he went there together with his friends, Sayyid Sulaiman Nadwi and Sir Ross Masood, Sir Sayyid's grandson and at that time Education Minister of Bhopal. The small Persian *diwān*, *Musāfir*, translates his feelings during this journey, while the other short *mathnawī* that appeared at the same time bears the title 'What shall now be done?', teaching once more true spiritual poverty, *faqr*, as it bewails the fate of the Indians.

Iqbal could not respond any more to an invitation of the Muslims of South Africa, nor could he deliver the Rhodes Lectures in Oxford, for an illness of the throat prevented him from speaking loudly, and his health began to deteriorate. Yet he visited Ahmad Sirhindi's tomb in Sirhind and participated in the centenary of Hali's birth in Panipat. And he did not cease writing poetry, on the contrary, in 1936 the Urdu collection *Bāl-i Jibrīl*, 'Gabriel's Wing', appeared; one year later *Ẓarb-i Kalīm*, 'The Stroke of Moses', the latter one mainly consisting of critical poems about the political and social evils of his time, particularly the blind imitation of Western values, while *Bāl-i Jibrīl* contains some of his most powerful philosophical poems in exquisite language. Iqbal also corresponded with M. A. Jinnah, who had recently returned from London, about the creation of a separate Muslim state; yet, he

sometimes felt that his work had been in vain, and compared himself to his favourite flower, the tulip,

which is also silent and has a bleeding heart.

Toward the end of his life Iqbal returned to the study of Islamic law and its interpretation for the modern world, but the book which he had planned on this topic was unfortunately never written. One has to read the *Six Lectures* to understand some of his socio-political ideals—thus, when he claims that the modern legislative process can take the place of the classical principle of *ijmā'*, as is the case in Turkey, where the National Assembly replaced the caliph. (One wonders if this was his belated response to the *khilāfat* movement?) Some of his remarks are quite daring, although he defended the use of the *shari'a* in personal status law, as it had been always the case; but:

Let the Muslim of today...reconstruct his social life in the light of ultimate principles, and evolve, out of the hitherto partially revealed purpose of Islam, that spiritual democracy while is the ultimate aim of Islam...¹⁴

And although he admitted that 'the appearance of liberal ideas in Islam constitutes also the most critical moment in the history of Islam', he thought:

The claim of the present generation of Muslim liberals to re-interpret the foundational legal principles, in the light of their own experience and the altered conditions of social life, is, in my opinion, perfectly justified...each generation...should be permitted to solve its own problems.¹⁵

Iqbal's last plans were not carried out—neither the *Aids to the Study of the Koran* nor his *Book of a Forgotten Prophet*, which was meant as a counterpart to Nietzsche's *Thus spake Zarathustra*, were written. His message on New Year's Day 1938 shows his deep concern for world peace, and in a last article he defended his idea of a separate Muslim nation against Hasan Ahmad Madani of Deoband, the successor of the *Shaikh al-Hind*, who believed in the supranationalism of Islam and was of the opinion that 'Iqbal went astray from pure Islam'.

After discussing German philosophy till late in the evening with a visitor, H. H. von Veltheim-Ostrau, Iqbal passed away early in the morning of April 21, 1938:

A true Muslim will welcome death with a smile!

His death was deeply mourned by all groups in India, and the grand old man of Indian literature, Rabindranath Tagore, sighed:

Iqbal's death creates a void in literature that, like a mortal wound, will take a long time to heal.

¹⁴ *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, p. 180.

¹⁵ *Id.*, p. 168.

After partition the literature on Iqbal grew immensely, and the number of books, articles, and pamphlets has become much too great to be read by students of his work. 'To follow Iqbal became almost a major profession in Indian Islam', as W. Cantwell Smith rightly remarks.¹⁶ Every spiritual, political, and social current in India and Pakistan was able to find verses or sentences that fitted into their particular worldview, and the question whether he was a liberal or an orthodox, a progressive or a reactionary has been answered according to the interpreters' own predilections.

It is indeed difficult to build up a system from Iqbal's works. Although trained as a philosopher he is not a systematic thinker who creates a crystal clear, logical system; the poetical trend always prevails in his argument. As a poet, again, he disliked *l'art pour l'art* and demanded from poetry that it should be a life-bestowing power rather than lull people into sweet dreams, as was the case, according to him, with most of classical Persian poetry. He even claimed that he resorted to poetry mainly because this means of expression was understood best by his compatriots; and indeed, a well-said sentence, a fine verse could, and still can, easily strike the listener's mind and become proverbial in a few days. That accounts also for Iqbal's tendency to use metres that can be split up easily into shorter units and are singable, or to repeat key words or juxtapose pairs of contrasts—tendencies which he shares with his great spiritual master, Maulana Jalaluddin Rumi.

Iqbal's approach to European philosophy has surprised, if not shocked, some of his readers. However an eminent German philosopher like Rudolf Pannwitz expressed the opinion that Iqbal's interpretation of Nietzsche is perfectly to the point. Iqbal's relation to Nietzsche was a constant point of criticism even among those who otherwise admired him; but he is not a blind imitator of the German philosopher and his concept of the Superman; rather, he is very critical of him: he acknowledges the depth of his experience, his struggle against hellenistic trends in Christianity, and his 'breaking the glass' in his measureless enthusiasm; but he accuses him of having remained in the *lā*, the negative beginning of the profession of faith, without proceeding to the *illā*, the acknowledgment of God's all-embracing sovereignty. In technical terms, Nietzsche was a nihilist, but his nihilism was the necessary step before an existential affirmation. Iqbal's interpretation of Maulana Rumi is likewise much closer to the original thought of the great mystical poet than are the hundreds of commentaries which explain him in the light of Ibn 'Arabi's *waḥdat al-wujūd*. Iqbal's stress on love as a personalistic experience and on the dynamic worldview of Rumi belongs to his most important discoveries.

¹⁶ W. S. Smith, *Modern Islam in India*, p. 169.

Iqbal's goal to create the Ideal Man, and to teach the Muslims the secrets of the *mard-i momin*, the true believer, need not be derived from Nietzsche nor from Ibn 'Arabi's *insān-i kāmīl*; rather, the true man of God who is distinct from the masses who are, as the Koran states, 'like animals, nay even more astray' (Sura 7/179) was always the ideal of the Sufis. To be sure, the concept of a 'Perfect Man' was very much *en vogue* during the late 19th and the early 20th centuries and not only Nietzsche and Stirner, but also Shri Aurobindo and other thinkers projected this ideal personality. In his ideas about God as the greatest Ego and his emphasis on the personal relationship between God and man, Iqbal is again close to some European thinkers of the early 20th century. His revaluation of man by highlighting the Koranic role of Adam as the true vice-gerent of God, his co-worker, was important in a culture where the active role of man had been almost forgotten due to speculative mysticism, overstressed *tawakkul*, 'trust in God', and the narrow-meshed net of innumerable religious and legal prescriptions that had contributed to fossilizing Islam over the course of 1300 years. Iqbal dreamt of leading his people back to the original Arabian Islam, unstained by hellenistic philosophy, and in this attempt he stands in the same line as the great Delhi theologians of the 18th century. He is also close to them when he accuses the Sufis of indolence and considers their theoretical work and their poetry to be dangerous for the community. The *pīr*, who holds unchecked authority over his largely ignorant followers is for him as dangerous for the development of man as the Mulla, the narrow-minded theologian who chains people's minds and hearts and, under the heavy burden of commentaries and supercommentaries on the Koran and the traditions, has forgotten the dynamic message of the Koran, which calls man to active participation in life.

Blind imitation, *taqlid*, seemed to be the paramount danger for the Muslims; but this imitation is not only *taqlid* in the technical sense, i.e., to follow one legal school, it is also, and even more, imitation of the West, which may prove even more dangerous. Iqbal's aversion to Western politics as he witnessed them first in England in 1905 includes his aversion to Western feminism: he believes in the role of women as mothers and depicts the prophetess of emancipation in weird colours in the *Jāvidnāma*, where the horrible European female preaches complete freedom for her sex. With this caricature of Western women Iqbal follows a cliché that is found in many Urdu and other novels before his time. Likewise, women's franchise is called, in his early notebook, 'a cry for husbands rather than for suffrage'. But this seemingly anti-feminist attitude did not prevent Iqbal from having his children brought up by a German lady after his last wife's death. And as much as Iqbal spoke against blind imitation of the West, as often does his own thought offer

parallels with ideas of his contemporaries in Europe, such as Martin Buber and Teilhard de Chardin. Man has to live through the mystery that God is a person and yet the all-embracing super-ego, and has to experience that in the act of prayer his small ego all of a sudden becomes aware of the presence of the greater, Divine power. Iqbal therefore sees the true secret of prayer in the transformation of man's will into conformity with the Divine Will. The more man learns of God's will during the hours of *khalwa*, 'seclusion', the more will he be able to manifest this will when he goes back to the world; for the goal of life is not to lose one's self in the ocean of God but rather, as the Naqshbandis had taught, to return as a changed personality and then work in the world to ameliorate it. Everyone is called to do so according to his capacities; but the most perfect example of this kind of life is the Prophet: he has reached the highest possible state, that of '*abduhu*', 'God's servant' (cf. Sura 17/1) and as such, is closest to God and carries out His will on earth. A greater contrast to Nietzsche's Superman who appears after 'God has died' is barely thinkable. Love of the Prophet 'runs like blood in the veins of the community' and is one of the basics of Muslim life; for he embodies the highest ideals. Hence his finality is a central dogma of Islam. Iqbal put this conviction in philosophical terms which, however, can lead all too progressive thinkers to dangerous conclusions:

The birth of Islam...is the birth of inductive intellect. In Islam prophecy reaches its perfection in discovering the need of its own abolition...¹⁷

Iqbal's diffuse poetical utterances can be seen as the rays of one radiant centre, the concept of Unity: the unity and unicity of the living God; the unique position of the final Prophet; the one revealed book, the one centre of worship, i.e., the Ka'ba, are set as models for the Muslims who should form one nation, and thus become living witnesses of *tauḥīd*.

Man, created innocent, has to struggle throughout his life to attain perfection. The best poetical image of this secret is Iqbal's poem *Taskhīr-i fīṭrat* in the *Payām-i mashriq*, which shows that Satan's seduction of Adam was a useful act since it gave the father of mankind the possibility of enjoying the constant struggle of life; out of this permanent 'holy war' with the Satanic powers, or with his own lower potencies, he grows into the true *mard-i momīn* before whom Satan will perform that prostration which he, according to the

¹⁷ *Reconstruction of Religious Thought*, p. 126. In a thought-provoking article in Outlook, Dec. 9, 1972 Detlev Khalid has analysed the book by M. N. Roy, *Historical Role of Islam*, an Essay on Islamic Culture, Sind Sagar Academy Lahore 1972 under the title 'A Terrorist looks at Islam', where he draws a line from statements as Iqbal's remark about the 'abolition of prophethood' to the outright marxist, though amazingly positive approach to Islam by the Indian leftist M. N. Roy.

Koran (Sura 2/31) refused to perform before the newly created, 'unexperienced' Adam.

Iqbal can be interpreted so differently that Wilfred Cantwell Smith had devoted to him two chapters, one dealing with the Reformer, one with the Reactionary. Many interpreters, particularly in Eastern Europe and India, have seen in him primarily a social reformer, although he was certainly not a socialist in the technical sense of the word:

He did not know analytically and logically, what is wrong with capitalism. But he was emotionally a socialist because he loved mankind.¹⁸

He spoke against godless Russian communism, although he acknowledged the possibility to interpret it as a preparatory stage that might lead to the *illā* of the profession of faith, and he devoted a fine poem to 'Lenin in the Presence of God'. He attacked capitalism and imperialism but did not elaborate an ethical, political, or economic system. He certainly did not foresee what terrible bloodshed was to accompany the creation of the separate Muslim state that came into existence nine years after his death; nor did he probably envisage the two wings of Pakistan which, in 1971, split into two separate countries. His interpretation of the principles of the *shari'a* leaves much room for that 'impatient initiative' (W. C. Smith) which made him such a wonderful poet of freedom and human development. In the chapter 'The Principle of Movement' in the *Lectures* he writes:

Shari'at values...are in a sense specific to that people, and since their observance is not an end in itself, they cannot be strictly enforced in the case of future generations.¹⁹

He follows here certainly Shah Waliullah's remark about the Koran:

True knowledge is that which meets the requirement of the age, and...the Koran...has come down in accordance with the conditions of the moment.²⁰

Iqbal's ideas remained firmly grounded in the religious sphere, and out of his deep conviction of the superiority of pure Islam he built up his work in poetry and prose, using most skilfully the material offered by thinkers of East and West and sensing with admirable intuition their spiritual importance. Still before partition, H. A. R. Gibb wrote:

Perhaps the right way to look at Iqbal is to see in him one who reflected and put into vivid words the diverse currents of ideas that were agitating the minds of the Indian Muslims. His sensitive poetic temperament mirrored all that impinged upon it—the backward looking romanticism of the liberals, the socialist leanings of the young intellectuals, the longing of the militant Muslim Leaguers for a strong leader to restore the political power of Islam...²¹

¹⁸ W. C. Smith, *Modern Islam in India*, p. 128.

¹⁹ *Reconstruction of Religious Thought*, p. 172.

²⁰ Shah Waliullah, *Tafhimāt* II 166.

²¹ H. A. R. Gibb, *Modern Trends in Islam*, Chicago 1947, p. 61.

No other thinker of Indian Islam has become more widely known outside the Subcontinent than Iqbal. But he is only one of the reformers that emerged in the Subcontinent during the restless years between the two world wars. On the other side of the spectrum stands Maulana Abu'l-Kalam Azad, whose role as powerful journalist and as theoretician of the *khilāfat* movement has been mentioned earlier.

1931 was a critical year for the Indian Muslims. The ardent khilafatist, Maulana Muhammad 'Ali, died after having contributed to the Round Table Conference in London a moving speech, expressing the dilemma of the Indian Muslims who passionately desired to see a free India and who at the same time wanted to preserve their special interests in politics. After the same conference, M. A. Jinnah, disappointed with the situation in his native country, settled in England. The *Jam'iyat al-'ulamā-yi Hind* promulgated in its meeting in Saharanpur 1931 a fourteen point formula about its constitutional plans. And in that same year, the first volume of Maulana Azad's *Tarjumān al-qur'ān* appeared, a translation and interpretation of the Koran which was never completed, but goes only as far as Sura 23. This book, praised as a masterpiece of beautiful Urdu, contains the theological credo of Azad in the extensive interpretation of the *Fātiha*, a credo which is quite different from that of Iqbal and grows out of the feeling of all-embracing unity which is so typical of many representatives of Indian Sufism.²² All religions, Azad holds, are perfectly true in their own sphere and Islam is nothing more than a confirmation of the true faith taught by previous teachers and religions. Deriving his main points from the first words of the *Fātiha*, Azad sees as God's outstanding qualities *rubābiyya*, 'Lordship', for He is called *rabb al-'ālamīn*, further *rahma*, 'mercy', and *'adāla*, 'justice', as is pointed out by his epithet 'the Lord of the Day of Judgment'. *Rubābiyya*, a term used by the earliest Sufis to denote God's Absolute Majesty, gains with Azad the comprehensive connotation of providence, a providence which manifests itself in God's creating and rearing a child from the moment of its conception, a loving nourishment which is continued until the creature has reached its fullest possible development. Thus, providence is coupled with *taqdīr* which, for Azad, is not barely 'fate', but rather, according to the original meaning of the root, the fixing of a proportionate share for every created being. Providence also contains *hidāya*, 'guidance'. That can be the instinct that is common to all living beings—a cat looking after her kittens is a perfect example of God's guidance; on a higher

²² W. C. Smith, *Modern Islam in India*, p. 147, thinks that 'probably no other Muslim in the country is equally intelligent, aware, informed, and at the same time a theologian. His Islam is humanitarian'. The comprehensive thesis of I. H. Douglas, *The Life and Religious Thought of Abu'l-Kalam Azad*, Oxford 1969, has never been published.

level it is manifest in the working of the senses and then in reason, by which man is distinguished from everything else; even reason, however, needs divine guidance, to understand and reach God.²³ Azad derives this sequence from Sura 87/2-3:

Glorify the name of the Guardian Lord, most high,
Who hath created, and further, given order and proportion;
Who hath ordained laws, and granted guidance...

Man has to learn that God is the only source of providence and thus become a true monotheist. The bond that relates man and God is that of love (one thinks of Ghazzali's statements in the *Kitāb al-maḥabba* of the *Iḥyā' 'ulūm ad-dīn*). It is small wonder that Azad finds close similarities between the spirit of Christianity and that of Islam; but he emphasizes that Islam has put besides God's endless mercy and compassion the concept of justice, which means avoidance of excesses. Like other thinkers who based their theology on the mystically tinged interpretation of Islam, Maulana Azad too knows the threefold way of religion, i.e., *islām*, acting and behaving as a Muslim; *īmān*, importance of the inner belief, and finally *iḥsān*, which appears to him as the expression of the final perception of reality. Admiring the sublimity of the negative theology in the Upanishads, the *neti neti*, Azad yet prefers the middle path between *tanzīh* and *tashbīh* as taught by the Koran:

While personification of similitudes denies us the perception of Reality, the process of negation denies us the consolidation of positive belief. That is why the Koran has chosen the middle path.²⁴

Since the main emphasis in Azad's rather eclectic theology and exegesis is on compassion and love, he also stressed the element in beauty more than Iqbal—beauty is a necessary aspect of *rahma*. He perceives beauty everywhere and tries to establish that harmony which is the final goal of creation. That leads him, quite naturally, to a complete aversion to ideas like the two-nations theory and a separate state for Indian Muslims. To be sure, Azad does not overlook the negative aspects of life, but he believes in a gradual elimination of falsehood thanks to the basic principle of right guidance. His concept of love is closer to that of charity, or *maḥabba* in the classical Sufi terminology, than to Iqbal's '*ishq*', 'dynamic love', which constitutes the very principle of life; it is warm and soft-coloured as contrasting with Iqbal's upsurging, burning '*ishq*'. But Azad would have agreed with Iqbal that Islam makes a distinction between the essence of religion and its ritual, an idea that was dear to many reformers but was, in the case of both Iqbal and Azad, frowned upon

²³ Ahmad-Grunbaum, *Muslim Self-Statement*, p. 123.

²⁴ Fyze, *A Modern Approach to Islam*, p. 112.

by the orthodox theologians who always tended to confound the God-given *shari'ah* with man-made *fiqh*.

Azad, like Iqbal, has given much thought to the role of man, and in a symposium in Delhi after partition, when he had become Education Minister of the Indian Union, he said:

Man's nature is so high and elevated that nothing higher is conceivable to human reason,²⁵ an idea which he cements, typically, with quoting the *tat tvam asi* of the Chāndogya Upanishad as well as the famous *hadith*, 'Who knows himself knows his Lord'. Here, the basic difference between Azad, the mystical thinker, and Iqbal, the prophetic thinker, becomes evident; for Iqbal's ideal man is not the lover who experiences his fundamental unity with the creative principle but rather, the co-worker and restless servant of a personal God.

Azad's commentary on the Koran shows him as a Muslim deeply concerned with the future of his coreligionists, and of India in general; and it is useful to read part of a speech which he made in 1942, at a time when the germs of partition were growing rapidly among the Indian Muslims:

I am a Muslim and this thought fills me with pride. The traditions of Islam during its career of thirteen centuries go to form my heritage. I am not willing to give up a iota of this portion. Islamic education, Islamic history, Islamic arts, Islamic sciences, and Islamic culture constitute the elements of my wealth; and as a Muslim, it is my duty to preserve it. Being a Muslim I have a special position in cultural and religious circles, and I cannot bear that anyone should interfere in this inner sanctum of my soul. But, in addition to these feelings, I am also the possessor of another feeling, which has been created by the stark realities of my external life. The soul of Islam is not a barrier to this belief; in fact, it guides me in this path. I am proud to be an Indian. I am an integral part of this unified and impartible nation. The glory of this nation is incomplete without this valuable component. I am an essential factor in its composition and I shall never give up this claim...we brought with us a great treasure and this land was also overlaid with its own untold wealth. We entrusted our wealth to this country; and India opened the floodgates of its treasures to us. We gave this country the most precious of our possessions and one which was greatly needed by it. We gave it the message of democracy and equality.²⁶

Another interesting figure in modern Indian Islam is 'Ubaidullah Sindhi, senior to both Iqbal and Azad (1872-1944), a convert from Sikhism who had been trained in Sind under a well-known Pir and then studied for some time in Deoband. During World War I, he belonged to those who set up a provisional government for India in Kabul, an attempt supported by the Congress; he participated at that time in the 'Silken Letter Conspiracy'. The British exiled him, and he spent more than twenty years in various countries: in Moscow he stayed for seven months in 1922 as a guest of the Communist Party; in Turkey he witnessed Atatürk's reform; then he settled in Mecca where he worked on a

²⁵ *Speeches of Maulana Azad, 1947-1955*, Delhi 1956, p. 182.

²⁶ Quoted in Fyzee, *Modern Approach to Islam*, p. 112.

commentary on the Koran, called *Ilhām ar-rahmān*, which was later reconstituted from the notes of his disciple, the Tatar theologian Musa Jarullah. He returned to India only in 1939. 'Ubaidullah Sindhi, 'the firebrand agitator' (W. Cantwell Smith), worked for a Hindu-Muslim unity based on the ideal of *wahdat al-wujūd*, but he contemplated federations in India according to linguistic differences. As he claimed that the many peoples and races of India had to live peacefully together, and that religions in the Subcontinent had a unity of purpose, he dreamt of democracy, economical progress, and the change of inherited social patterns. His 'Islamic socialism' was expected to solve all problems, and when he speaks of *jihad* he uses the word in the sense of 'total obligation', not only by the sword, but by the pen, and the heart, and through fearless expression of one's opinion.

'Ubaidullah Sindhi regarded himself as the follower and interpreter of Shah Waliullah, but his understanding of the works of his spiritual guide has a very personal colour, as when he states that he had learned from the *Hujjat Allah al-baligha* that 'the essence of Islamic revolution is the crushing of all kinds of imperialism'.²⁷ The fact that he, contrary to some other Muslim leaders (among them Shah Waliullah) could not boast of Arab ancestry did not disturb him; rather, he was proud of being an Indian. This attitude led him also to find in the Koran allusions favourable to non-Islamic religions: he interpreted the Sabians of Sura 2/59 as Magians, Brahmans, and Buddhists, and, even more daringly, the 'community of djinn' mentioned at the beginning of Sura 72 as listening to the Koran as 'people outside the proper country of men', i.e., Arabia—people who have performed ascetic practices, *riyāzāt*, and have thus become spiritualized, such as monks, Yogis, and followers of the Buddha.

'Ubaidullah Sindhi's commentaries on the Koran, along with Maulana Azad's *Tarjumān al-qur'ān*, have deeply influenced modern Sindhi Koran exegesis, for instance the commentary by Maulana Tajuddin Imruti, a freedom fighter like 'Ubaidullah, whose minute mosque in the middle of the Rice Canal near Sukkur still gives witness to his refusal to have a mosque demolished for the sake of a canal built by the British...

Completely different in approach from 'Ubaidullah Sindhi was another disciple of Deoband, Maulana Ilyas (1885-1944), the founder of the Faith Movement, which he based on Sura 3/104:

²⁷ J. M. S. Baljon, 'The Qur'anic views of Ubaidullah Sindhi and Shah Waliullah', *Islamic Studies* XVI, note 20. His tradition is maintained in the Shah Waliullah Academy in Hyderabad Sind, where Waliullah's works as well as magazines in Arabic, Urdu, and Sindhi concerning his theories are published.

And let there be of you a community calling others to do good and commanding that which is reputable and prohibiting that which is disreputable.

Maulana Ilyas, a weak man of poor background, impeded by stuttering, founded schools and tried to attract the masses, going from door to door to invite people in the Delhi area to work for the faith, for 'rendering service to believers is the true mark of devotion'. His main working field was among the Mewatis near Delhi, that group of rather superficially Islamicized people who claimed to have been converted by Salar Mas'ud, but who continued many Hindu practices and who had been a constant source of trouble to the Delhi sultans of earlier centuries. Maulana Ilyas converted many of them to a purist Islam which they in turn were to preach even in the capital. A member of the Sabiriyya Chishtiyya, Maulana Ilyas followed the classical rule of non-cooperation with the government, all the more since he regarded the British as the main opponents of Islam. His attitude was extremely puritan, insisting upon complete seclusion of women. His work, an example of wholehearted devotion to Islam at its most rigorous was admired by a leading Muslim like Dr. Zakir Husain, but has been criticized by others as keeping the Muslims out of touch with the social and political realities of the day.

But while Maulana Ilyas' work was restricted, in spite of some missionary efforts, to a comparatively small area, another Deobandi succeeded in forming a well-knit community of followers who have time and again taken part in the political game. That was Maulana Abu'l-'Ala Maududi, born 1903 in Aurangabad. He obtained his education in Deoband where he belonged to the right wing. From his earliest publications onward he has worked for a complete Islamization of life, and when he writes in one of his books:

The sun, the moon and the stars are thus all 'Muslims'... This is Islam, the natural religion of man, not associated with any people or country. In any age, in any country, among any people, God-knowing and truth-loving men believed and lived this very religion. They were all Muslims, whether or not was this religion termed in their language 'Islam'.¹⁴

we should not forget that very soon he turns to the statement that there is no virtue in righteousness apart from correct Muslim faith. Righteousness as he advocates it largely resembles the Islamic ideals of the early ascetics inspired by fear—fear of God's punishment, fear of Hell, but also fear of man's own possibilities as they become particularly clear in his dealing with women. Therefore Maududi strictly insists upon purdah and, discussing the reinforcement of the Koranic ways of punishment, offers a mere caricature of the Western world in which such punishments could barely have any sense:

These punishments are not meant for the filthy society wherein sexual excitement is rampant, wherein nude pictures, obscene books and vulgar songs have become common recrea-

¹⁴ W. C. Smith, *Modern Islam in India*, p. 76.

tion; wherein sexual perversions have taken hold of the cinema and all other places of amusement, wherein mixed, semi-nude parties are considered the acme of social progress and wherein economic conditions and social customs have made marriage extremely difficult.²⁹

Secularism, nationalism and democracy are the roots of all calamities—therefore Maududi dreams of a theocracy, or rather a theo-democracy where the Kingdom of God—the only legislator—is administered by the whole community of Muslims. A country that has a Muslim majority should accept the *shari'a* as the law of the land.

As the other Deobandis, Maududi too was firmly opposed to the idea of Pakistan, yet he migrated there after partition, and the *Jamā'at-i islāmī*, founded in 1941, was a powerful weapon in his hands. Run on authoritarian lines, the *Jamā'at* is for all practical purposes the only well-organized religious grouping in Pakistan; it offers a solid program, and thanks to its esprit de corps and the practical help administered by its followers to those in need, it has acquired an influential role even in student circles. Its followers have constantly worked to introduce more Islamic measures into the constitution of Pakistan.

One more reformer has to be mentioned who, of the same age as Maulana Maududi, founded in 1938 in Delhi a group called, after one of Iqbal's poems, *Tulā' al-islām*. This is Ghulam Parwez, a civil servant who has laid down his ideas in a great number of fictive letters because he was of the opinion that 'the religious leaders are the basic obstacles of a new and prosperous society'. Parwez denies the validity of the Prophetic traditions for the building up of an Islamic society, and develops unusual ideas about the ideal Islamic state, interpreting the *khair*, 'good' that is ordered in the Koran by 'social welfare' in all its potentialities. His social ideas are quite daring, and it is not surprising that a number of ulema issued a *fatwā* declaring him an apostate. On the theoretical level he sometimes appears as a Muslim counterpart to Barthian theology, claiming that the natural man can have no direct personal contact with God; the initiative for such a contact must come from God, and since He has revealed Himself in the word of the Koran, this book is the only basis on which man can understand God's greatness, Lordship, and order. Sufism is rejected *in toto* for it is a man-made attempt to attain a wisdom that is not destined for humans. Islam, for Parwez, is a challenge to religion, religion taken, in the Barthian sense, as something invented by man.³⁰ Parwez, who settled in Pakistan, continued his teaching there among a certain segment of

²⁹ E. J. R. Rosenthal, *Islam in the Modern National State*, Cambridge, 1965, p. 140.

³⁰ For his idiosyncratic 'Koranic lexique technique' (*lughat al-Qur'ān*) see Ahmad-Grunebaum, *Muslim Self-Statement* p. 171.

intellectuals, but did not build up a full-fledged organisation comparable to the *Jamā'at-i islāmī*.

The beginning of the 1930's, a time when the civil disobedience movement spread through the whole of India, is also a period during which various major organisations sprang up to safeguard the interests of the Muslims. The first and in the long run the most influential one was founded in the Northwestern Frontier among the Pathans by Khan 'Abdulhaffar Khan. He called it *Khudā'ī khidmatgār*, 'Servants of God'. Their goal was a religion of unity, brotherhood, and service of mankind. Absolutely anti-British, 'Abdulhaffar cooperated with the Congress in order to obtain complete freedom for India. His movement was non-violent, a remarkable achievement among the martial Pathans who are known for their indomitable character, and 'Abdulhaffar was soon called the 'Frontier Gandhi'. The *Khudā'ī khidmatgār*, often designated as Red Shirts after their uniform in all shades of brown, were successful in the villages and the tribal areas, although the British fought against them, with the support of some of their loyal followers, such as the ruler of the small mountain state of Dir. 'Abdulhaffar became an almost mythical figure, and much of his fame has been inherited by his son Wali Khan. When partition became a serious issue, the Red Shirt leaders conceived of another partition, the formation of an independent Pashtunistan, which would unite all the Pashto-speaking tribes; and this idea, born in 1946, is still in the air and has led to political measures against Wali Khan by various Pakistani governments.

At the same time as this influential organisation was created, in 1930, a group of Muslim leaders from the Punjab formed the *Ahrār* Party which attracted quite a few Muslims from the Congress who were not willing to join the Muslim League. The *Ahrār*, like the *Khudā'ī khidmatgār*, were resolutely anti-British, and their spokesman, 'Ata'ullah Shah Bukhari, one of the most brilliant orators among the Indian Muslims, was able to attract large masses. However, when the Congress initiated *satyagraha* in 1940, the organisation split up and disintegrated; some of its former leaders later continued playing a role in Pakistani politics.

The third major movement that emerged in 1931 was that of the *Khaksār*, founded in the Northwestern Frontier, but extending to the Punjab, the United Provinces and other areas. Their founder was Muhammad 'Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi (1888-1963), the principal of Islamia College Peshawar, a man well versed in European sciences, having studied mathematics and physics in Cambridge. Mashriqi tried to build up an organisation that was regarded, in a certain way, as a practical expression of Iqbal's dynamism. For him, Islam is action; his followers, wearing a brown

uniform and carrying a spade, were regarded as soldiers of God and Islam, arranged in military units of *mujahid*, *pākḥāz* and *janbāz*; the latter ones were the elite who signed their pledge of complete obedience in blood. These groups, and the *mu'āwīns*, 'reserve', were organized under the *amīr*, i.e., Mashriqi. Every evening they were drilled in military performances and inspired with the idea that the function of religion is to build up a strong, healthy and prosperous society, and that Islam is destined to conquer the world. The program was laid out by Mashriqi in what has been called by J. M. S. Baljon 'a modern Muslim decalogue',³¹ and Islam became, so to speak, 'the infallible and divine sociology'.³² It was a movement of the masses, who enthusiastically followed their leader when he attacked the effeminate non-violence movement, but also the ulema who failed to provide the Muslims with a working ideology:

Their poverty, ignorance, vileness, destitution, helplessness, dumbness, filthiness and their tatters, all these clearly indicate that, whatever they be, they can never be the leaders of this nation.³³

The religious symbolism of this group was concentrated in the spade, which reminded them not only of Muhammad at the Battle of the Trench but served for many other purposes so that 'an illiterate and devoted Lahore *Khaksār* produced verses listing over a hundred uses for his spade...'.³⁴

The *Khaksār* extended their influence into the country; they interfered in Sunni-Shia conflicts in Lucknow in 1939 and shifted their headquarters to Aligarh in 1941. At that time, however, the government had banned non-official military parades; Mashriqi was in jail, and the party had been declared unlawful for two years. After their activities were at least partially permitted again, their energy dwindled by the end of the war and they could no longer offer an attractive program to the Muslims.

Regional groups also tried to give new directives to the Indian Muslims during those critical years. In Jammu and Kashmir Shaikh 'Abdallah founded the Muslims' Conference which attracted the largest part of the Muslims, who formed an overwhelming majority in the country which was ruled, for the last century, by Hindu rajas. In Kashmir as in Bengal, the Muslims belonged generally to the economically weaker classes. In Bengal the *Krishak Praja* Party therefore aimed at an agrarian revolution through a constitutional program; the party was therefore not exclusively the instrument of the Muslims. Its leader, Fazlulhaqq, who became the premier of a coalition

³¹ J. M. S. Baljon, 'A Modern Muslim Decalogue', *WT NS* III 1954.

³² H. Kraemer, 'Islam in India today', *MW* XXI, 2, 1931, p. 169.

³³ W. C. Smith, *Modern Islam in India*, p. 290.

³⁴ *Id.*, p. 292.

cabinet in 1937, was so disappointed by the reluctant attitude of the Congress members that he joined the Muslim League; later, he was for some time expelled due to differences with M. A. Jinnah.

Profession-based movements, such as the *Weavers' Mumin Ansar Party* or comparable currents among butchers and carders (who called themselves *Manşūrīs* after the great medieval mystical martyr 'Mansur' al-Hallaj, the 'cotton-carder') were shortlived and could not compete with the major political parties whose lines became increasingly consolidated, and whose attitude towards each other stiffened considerably.

One anti-British movement that is worth mentioning here is that of the Hurr in Sind, whose not exactly religious activities have lately been dramatically described by H. T. Lambrick.¹⁵ The Hurr, 'Free', constitute a group of élite dervishes around the Pir Pagaro, a religious leader of a branch of the Qadiriyya, whose first prominent representative is Pir Muhammad Rashid (d. 1817). The family, who reached Sind in the early Middle ages and settled near Lakhi (hence called Lakhiari *sayyids*) and later had their headquarters in Kingri, played an important role in the cultural life of Sind; the line split in the 19th century in the *Pagārō*, 'he with the turban' and the *Jhandēvarō*, 'he with the flag'. An early Pir Pagaro, Sibghatullah I, had supported Sayyid Ahmad Brelwi's *jihād* by supplying him with some of his Hurr, and this cadre of absolutely devoted followers became particularly prominent under Pir Pagaro Sibghatullah II whom they considered not less than a divine manifestation. This Pir had leanings towards the Congress, and his Hurr tried to fight the British in their own way with every conceivable means and thus caused many casualties among them and among those Sindhis who did not cooperate with them, continuing their activities even after the Pir Pagaro was hanged in Bombay in 1940. Though on a smaller scale, the Hurr were comparable to the medieval *fidā'iyyīn*, the devoted followers of the Isma'ili leader Hasan-i Sabbah.

The freedom movement was not restricted to one particular group or class among the Indian Muslims. The poets joined the freedom fighters and sang, like Josh Malihabadi, of the day that the prison would break open and its walls would crumble so that people could live free and happy. In Bengal, Nazrulislam excited people with his poems which contributed a new, dynamic note to Bengali literature. The Progressive Writers' Association, founded in 1936, hoped for a new India not so much for religious or cultural reasons but dreamt of a new social order.

¹⁵ His book, *The Terrorist*, gives an excellent impression of the fanatic devotion of the Hurrs whom the author knew personally, and whose letters and messages he wrought into a fascinating novel.

Socialism was the new revelation that young idealists could invoke to exorcise communal rancours, by uniting the majority from all communities in a struggle against their common poverty, and to make independence a blessing to the poor as well as to the élite.³⁰

Even Iqbal had envisaged an ideal state in which the social egalitarian basic rules of Islam would be realized; among the Deobandis, Hifzurrahman Sihrawari voiced socialist ideas about the prohibition of accumulation of wealth, equal opportunities and cooperative institutions in his book *Islām ka iqtisādī nizam* (1942).

For all the various parties and groupings, for all the leaders who interpreted the ideals of Islam in different ways, liberation of India from a foreign rule was the common goal. But only one party besides the Congress grew in the 1930's into a decisive factor in Indian politics, and that was the Muslim League. Founded in 1906, it had never played a major role, although leading thinkers and politicians, particularly in the Punjab (Sir Muhammad Shafi, Iqbal) were members of this organisation. It is only after M. A. Jinnah was persuaded to return from his self-imposed exile in Britain, that a new, decisive phase in its history began. Jinnah transformed it into a true Muslim movement, and made it more outspokenly anti-Congress by prohibiting double membership; finally the League became the vehicle for the Pakistan plan, and Iqbal wrote to M. A. Jinnah on June 21, 1937:

You are the only Muslim in India today to whom the community has a right to look up for safe guidance through the storm which is coming.

The clouds for the storm were indeed gathering. In 1937, only 4.5% of the Muslim electorates were won for the League. In this year, Jinnah addressed the student body in Aligarh by outlining his modern program:

What the League has done is to set you free from the reactionary elements of Muslims and to create the opinion that those who play their selfish game are traitors. It has certainly freed you from that undesirable element of *maulwis* and *maulānās*...³¹

One can well understand that the leaders of the Deoband school reacted violently against the League; somewhat later, Maududi declared that Pakistan as envisaged by Jinnah 'would be a pagan state'.³² The tension between the outlook of the Western-trained, modern leaders of the Muslim League and the

³⁰ Victor Kiernan, *Poems of Fayz*, London 1971, Introduction p. 23.

³¹ Faruqi, *Deoband School*, p. 79.

³² Fazlur Rahman, 'Muslim Modernism in the Indo-Pak Subcontinent', *BSOAS* XXI, 1958, p. 97, says about Maududi: 'His rigid formalism led him to allow Islamically the citizens of Pakistan to become disloyal to the present state, which in his eyes is as un-Islamic as any, and also led him to jail'. Yet, *Dawn International*, Sept. 23, 1978, reports that Maulana Maudoodi 'has said that he never doubted the intentions of the Quaid-i Azam with regard to State. According to a Jama'at Press release, the Maulana paid rich tributes to the Father of the Nation...He said that the Quaid was a man of principles.'

tradition-bound orthodox was a trial under which the young state of Pakistan would smart time and again in the years to come.

The Congress still claimed to represent all Indians, including the Muslims, and therefore ignored the League as something without real basis, while the League claimed to speak in the name of all Muslims of India. These frictions grew stronger after the League had accepted the two-nations theory and decided, on March 23, 1940, to work for the creation of an independent Muslim state, Pakistan. Jinnah, the Quaid-i a'zam, lucidly explained his views of the different cultural attitudes of the two nations:

It is extremely difficult to appreciate why our Hindu friends fail to understand the real nature of Islam and Hinduism. They are not religions in the strict sense of the word, but are in fact different and distinct social orders...never can a common nationality evolve...There is not one Indian nation...the Hindus and Muslims belong to two different religious philosophies, social customs, literatures. They neither intermarry nor inter-dine together and, indeed, they belong to two different civilisations which are based mainly on conflicting ideas and conceptions...They have different epics, different heroes, and different episodes... To yoke together two such nations under a single state, one as a numerical minority and the other as a majority, must lead to growing discontent and final destruction of any fabric that may be so built up for the government of such a state.²⁸

Maulana Madani of Deoband, with whom Iqbal had had a public controversy over the concepts of *qaum* and *millat* in Islam, called the Pakistan plan 'a death knell for the Muslims in those areas where they were in a minority'. The Indian nationalist parties met in 1940 in the Azad Muslim Conference, presided over by Allah Bakhsh, the Premier of Sind; only the League and the *Khaksar* were absent. There, it was stated that:

all the nooks and corners of the country contain the hearths and homes of the Muslims, and the cherished historic monuments of their religion and culture, which are dearer to them than their lives.²⁹

One year later, Maulana Maududi formed the *Jama'at-i Islami* in Pathankot: for him, the Muslims do not constitute a national entity but rather a *jama'at*, a community. However Shabbir Ahmad Uthmani, who some years later developed an offspring of the *Jam'iyat al-'ulamā-yi hind* with his *Jam'iyat-i 'ulamā-yi Pākistān*, stated that 'those who feared Pakistan would be ruled by the ungodly members of the All Indian Muslim League should join the League themselves and thus ensure that Pakistan was run by true Muslims'.

The provincial Muslim Leagues had also different concepts which did not always conform to the general policy of the League. In Sind, G. M. Sayyid launched the slogan 'Sind for the Sindhis'—although Sind had attained, in

²⁸ Ahmad-Grunebaum, *Muslim Self Statement*, p. 153.

²⁹ W. C. Smith, *Modern Islam in India*, p. 280.

1937, separation from the Bombay Presidency and had thus become a true Muslim majority province. In 1944 the Punjab Muslim League disagreed with the centre on political issues. In Bengal, which had been included in the partition scheme as the eastern wing of a future Pakistan, the League was led by the dynamic Abu'l-Hashim, who, after partition, worked for a modernized Islam in his Islamic Academy in Dacca.

One problem with the Pakistan idea was that nothing was said, for the time being, about the form of the government of the future state. Its exact shape was also still rather vague, and Gandhi and Jinnah could not agree in their talks of September 1944 whether all the six provinces (Balochistan, Sind, Northwestern Frontier, Punjab, Bengal and Assam) should form the future Pakistan, or only their majority districts. (That was particularly important for the Punjab with its large Sikh population). But in spite of the uncertain terms in which the future Pakistan was represented, the idea attracted more and more Muslims, and thus in the elections of January 1946 the Muslim League won all the seats reserved for Muslims. The communalist tension, enhanced by vague ideas about the 'vivisection of Mother India' in case of a partition, resulted in an increasing number of riots, beginning with a terrible slaughter of Muslims in Calcutta in August 1946; Bombay followed; other cities were involved too. The fact that in December 1946 the League as the largest single party in the Punjab was excluded from the ministry in the Assembly led to a mass civil disobedience in the Punjab in which the Muslim women played a very conscious and active role. The Sikh however continued their violent opposition to the Pakistan scheme which would mean a partition of their homeland; it came to massacres in East Punjab. The numerous meetings, missions, conferences that took place between 1940 and 1947 between M. A. Jinnah, Gandhi, and various British authorities belong to the political history, not to the religious one. As their result, the Subcontinent was divided on August 14, 1947—as Sir Percival Spear says:

The ideology of Iqbal, the visions of Rahmat Ali, and the fears of the Muslims were...united by the practical genius of Jinnah to bind Muslims together as never before during the British period and led to affect an act of political creation.⁴¹

⁴¹ Sir Percival Spear, *Oxford History of India*, 3rd ed, 1964, p. 807.

EPILOGUE

The partition of the Subcontinent, conceived by Iqbal, Jinnah, and their followers as the ideal solution of the communalist problems, took place on August 14, 1947. What had not been foreseen by its advocates and by the millions of Indian Muslims who hoped for a state in which they could freely develop their cultural identity, was the mass exodus of Hindus from what became Pakistan and of Muslims for the Indian Union (Bharat). Nor had they envisaged the terrible bloodshed that took place during the months preceding and following partition, or the problems of integration of the refugees who reached the land of their hopes, not to mention the political tension between the two, later three, states in the Subcontinent. Pakistan had to face difficulties on practically every sector of life, all the more as its two wings were separated not only by a distance of 2000 miles but also by different languages (including the Arabic-based Urdu script and the Sanskrit-based Bengali characters). While Bharat maintained the well-run city of Delhi as its capital, Pakistan had to build a new capital, and the indigenous population of Sind and the Punjab was not too positively inclined towards the newcomers, some of whom were to become the intellectual leaders and most devoted defenders of Pakistan for the achievement of which they had fought so hard and had given up everything. Others were doomed for years to a miserable existence in the refugee camps—Khawaja Muinuddin's drama *Lal Qile se Lalakhet* (From the Red Fort in Delhi to the refugees' camp in Karachi) reflects the tragedy of this latter group.

Pakistan's most important and, as it became increasingly clear, most difficult task was, however, to produce a constitution which was to guarantee both the Islamic and the modern character of the country. The death of Quaid-i Azam M. A. Jinnah in September 1948, one year after partition, and the assassination of his capable successor Liaquat Ali Khan in 1950 posed serious new problems to the country, and the history of the following thirty years was overshadowed, in spite of remarkable achievements in the economical and cultural sectors, by the struggle for the constitution and all too frequently changing governments, including several periods of martial law. The tensions between the modern, Western trained Pakistanis, who tried hard to build up the country in a liberal, progressive style, and the orthodox ulema who time and again strove, and still are striving, for the exclusively Islamic character of the republic, was first revealed in the Punjab disturbances of 1953, when the Ahmadiyya were persecuted, whose able member Sir

Zafrulla Khan was then Pakistan's Foreign Minister. The *Munir Report*, published by the juridical commission after investigating the causes of the riots, shows the tragic discrepancy between the British-trained jurists and the traditional ulema, a discrepancy that has continued and perhaps even increased throughout the years.

Many attempts were made to formulate a stance in the conflicting ideologies of the modern world, particularly when it came to social justice, and quite a few Pakistanis would probably agree with Khalifa Abdul Hakim's remark:

If Marxism is the antithesis of the capitalist thesis, then Islam stands in relation to them both as the dialectical synthesis.¹

The Institute of Islamic Culture was particularly active in reformulating the central Islamic issues and in emphasizing the concept of the 'living *sunna*', as its dynamic director Fazlur Rahman called the principle of movement. But even this principle seemed too daring to some circles, and he had to leave the country. Other Pakistani thinkers tried to focus on a more nationalist interpretation of the country's *raison d'être*, while the Jama'at-i Islami preached return to the very roots of Islam. Besides, tensions between the four provinces with their different linguistic traditions (Sindhi, Panjabi, Pashto, and Balochi) on the one hand, and between the whole of West-Pakistan and the much smaller but more populated East Pakistan finally resulted in the break-up of the country after the tragic war of 1971. One would need a whole book to do justice to the various movements that emerged in Pakistan on the religious, social, and cultural sectors. And the major problem was that 'after Iqbal (and largely due to him) no intellectual modernist has arisen'.²

The Muslim minority in India—a minority that comprised about forty million at the moment of partition—was confronted with different problems. To be sure, Maulana Abu'l Kalam Azad became the first Education Minister of the Indian Union, and with Dr. Zakir Husain and Fakhruddin Ali Ahmad, two Muslims occupied the office of President of India—in Pakistan, no member of a minority group could become president although otherwise all professions were open to them. But the annexion to the Indian Union of the predominantly Muslim Kashmir with its Hindu ruler as well as the incorporation of Hyderabad State with its Muslim ruler caused much discussion; the Kashmir issue remained the most critical point in Indo-Pakistani relations. The persecution of Muslims during partition and its aftermath seemed to reaffirm the fears of the minority which had led to the creation of an indepen-

¹ Aziz Ahmad, *Islamic Modernism*, p. 206.

² Fazlur Rahman, 'Muslim Modernism', *BSOAS* XXI, p. 99.

dent Muslim state. This feeling of fear became even more outspoken after Gandhi was assassinated in January 1948 by a fanatic Hindu who, like many others, disapproved of his reconciliatory policy.

The Indian Muslims, whose situation has been described best in S. Abid Husain's book *The Destiny of Indian Muslims*, had to find ways to adjust to the secularist politics of the Indian Union, and many of them began to see Islam more as a 'religion' in the Western, post-Reformation meaning of the word than as a closed system of religious, social, and political rules. The Indian Institute of Islamic Studies, as well as the 'Islam and the Modern Age Society' in Delhi are in the forefront of modernizing Islam. Thinkers like A. A. A. Fyzee formulated the ideals of Muslim theology in a secular state, and coined the formula: "If we cannot go 'back' to the Koran, we have to go 'forward' with it."

In India as in Pakistan, different answers to the challenges of the twentieth century were sought and found, and it goes without saying that the political and religious developments in Pakistan always had repercussions among the Indian Muslims. The effect of partition on Muslim social customs, such as marriage patterns, the change of women's situation, but also the attitude towards mystical Islam in both parts of the Subcontinent, have still to be studied in more detail.

Neither Amir Khusrau's glowing tribute to Islam in the Subcontinent nor Hali's desperate complaints about the degradation of the Muslims fit the present situation. The old dichotomy of the syncretist and the separatist aspects of Islam is still valid to a certain extent; but on the whole it seems next to impossible to find a common denominator for the situation of Islam in the present three areas (India, Pakistan, and Bangla Desh) of the Subcontinent. The widely divergent interpretation of Islam became quite evident during the Iqbal Centenary (1977) in the way Iqbal's work was assessed in India and Pakistan. Still, it would not be out of place to repeat once more the Koranic statement which Iqbal, as other Muslim modernists, regarded as the basis for a brighter future for his compatriots. It is Sura 13/12:

Verily God does not change the destiny of a people until they change themselves.

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INDEX OF TECHNICAL TERMS

- '*abduhu*', 'His' (God's) slave', term for the Prophet, based on Sūra 17/1, where an allusion to his nightly journey to heaven is found; since the Prophet was called '*abduhu*' during this experience this word indicates that such slavehood is the highest possible rank man can reach, 231
- abjad*, the Arabic alphabet in the traditional Semitic arrangement, as used for chronograms: a = 1, b = 2, j = 3, d = 4 ... y = 10, 169
- abiath*, the Arabic alphabet in its present arrangement as used for chronograms a = 1, b = 2, t = 3, th = 4 ... y = 1000 (very rare), 169
- adab*, etiquette, proper behaviour, 110
- adala*, justice, particularly Divine Justice, as a basic quality of God, 233
- adami*, 'not-being', 'non-existence', in Sufism often the *deus absconditus*, 91
- adhān*, call to prayer, consisting of seven formulas, among them the profession of faith (*shahāda*, *kalima*) and the *takbīr* (*Allāhu akbar*, 'God is greater'), 132, 182
- advaita*, non-dualistic philosophy as developed in India by Shankara, 2
- āfāqī* (from *āfāq*, 'horizons'), the foreigners, non-indigenous people (mainly used in the Deccan) 54
- ahl al-kitāb*, those who own a God-sent book, i.e., Christians, Jews, and Sabians, to whom the Zoroastrians were later added. They can continue their religious practices under Muslim rule provided they pay the capitation tax, *jizya*, 5
- ahimsa*, not to kill any living being, 82
- ajlaf*, the lower strata, the indigenous Indians converted to Islam (opp. *ashraf*), 111
- ākhirī chārshamba*, last Thursday of the second lunar month, Šafar, on which the Prophet's fatal illness seemed to take a turn to the better, 121
- alam*, flag, pole, often with a crest; center of popular festivities in sacred places, 120
- alam al-mithāl*, the world of spiritual powers between the human (*nāsūt*) and the divine (*malakūt*) spheres; there, the advanced mystic can see future events and existentialize them through his prayer and spiritual energy, 133
- alif*, first letter of the Arabic alphabet, numerical value 1, symbol of Allah, his unity and unicity, 92, 140, 142, 147; in poetry also metaphor for the slender stature of the beloved.
- alim*, scholar, 155
- Allāhu akbar*, 'God is greater [than everything]', 83
- amal ṣālih*, pious, useful work, 183
- amāna*, the trust that was offered to heaven and earth, but both refused it; then, man took it upon himself (Sura 33/72), interpreted in various ways: as free will, love, responsibility, faculty of speech, etc., 92
- amīr*, leader, prince, 240; *amīr al-Hind* envisaged by the theoreticians of the *khilāfat*-movement as Indian deputy of the caliph, 220
- anā'ī-Haqq*, 'I am the Creative Truth', usually interpreted as 'I am God', spoken by al-Hallāj (exec. 922 in Baghdad). Later Sufis regarded this word as expression of the existential unity of man and God while others blamed Hallāj for having divulged the secret of loving union.
- anā waḥdī lā sharīk ll*, 'I am One and have no companion', personal interpretation of the profession of faith 'He is One and has no companion'; formula used in the Shāṭṭarī order to point to man's complete annihilation in God who speaks through him, 40
- aqd-i nikāh*, marriage contract, concluded by the bridegroom and the representative (*waḥī*) of the bride, 115
- aqīqa*, sacrifice on the seventh day after after childbirth, usually cutting the child's hair, giving its weight in silver as alms, and offering some blemishless animal, 113
- arāṭin*, agricultural group in the Punjab, converted to Islam in the late Middle Ages, 143

- ashab al-kahf*, the Seven Sleepers (Sūra 18), who were accompanied in the cave by their faithful dog Qitmīr, 124
- ashraf*, the nobility, Muslims in India of foreign descent, 111
- 'ashūrā*, 10 Muharram, when the Prophet's grandson Husain ibn 'Alī was killed in the battle of Kerbela; remembered by the Shītes with numerous rites, 120, 145, 159; *'ashūrākhāna* place where the *'ashūrā* celebrations are arranged, 61
- avatār*, incarnation of a deity, 73
- awqāf*, pl. of *waqf* 'pious foundation', 138
- āyat*, 'sign', verse of the Koran, 139
- ba'ā*, pledge of allegiance of a Sufi novice to his master by grasping his hand, 26, 211
- bait al-māl*, the public treasury of an Islamic government, 184
- baqā*, 'remaining', the final station of the mystic who has been annihilated (*fanā*) in God and then lives through him and in him. Dard (d. 1785) adds to this *baqā fi Allāh* the stations of *baqā fi'r-rasūl*, 'remaining in the Prophet', and *baqā fi'sh-shaikh*, 'remaining in the spiritual master' as highest possible rank; this however is a unique statement not shared by other Sufis, 162
- baqar'id*, 'the Feast of sacrifices', vd. *'id ul-aḥḥā*
- bārahmāsa*, poems that deal with the peculiarities of the twelve months as seen through the eyes of a loving woman, 119, 141
- bārāh wafāt*, the 12. Rabī' al-awwal, third lunar month, the day on which the Prophet died; it was also his birthday, 121
- baraka*, 'blessing', power of blessing inherent in saintly persons or sacred objects, 109, 137
- basmala*, the formula 'In the name of God', 113
- batil*, invalid, void, untrue, 158
- bē shar'*, 'without the Law'; groups of dervishes who do not follow the Islamic law in all its details and form a deviant current among the Sufis, 16, 33, 35, 136, 137
- bid'at*(i), innovation, something added to or deviant from the Prophetic tradition, hence often 'heretical doctrine', 138, 180
- bihishtī darwāza*, 'the Paradisaical Gate', small door in Farid Ganj-i Shakar's mausoleum in Pakpattan through which people throng during the *'urs* in the hope of obtaining Paradise by this act, 134
- bismillāh*, 'In the name of God the Merciful the Compassionate', 113
- bhajan*, religious songs in the *bhakti* tradition, 73
- bhakti*, popular mystical current in medieval Hinduism in which the love relation between man and God is emphasized, 38
- burāq*, the mount that carried Muhammad during his heavenly journey, depicted with a female head and a peacock's tail, 30, 121, 156, 164
- burqa*, a long, wide garment, black, white, or coloured, which covers a woman's whole body and has only small holes for the eyes, 110
- chakkīnāma*, 'millstone poems', mystical songs in the regional languages in which the imagery of grinding flour is used to convey mystical and religious concepts, 140
- charkhīnāma*, 'spinning wheel poem', songs in the regional languages in which religious ideas are conveyed by using the imagery of spinning, 140
- chhart*, flagstaff, often the center of popular celebrations at a saint's tomb, 123
- chhatt*, religious ceremony of bathing on the sixth day after childbirth, 113
- chihilum*, the fortieth day of mourning, or the period of forty days mourning after a bereavement, 121
- chilla*, forty days' seclusion, in which the novice or any Sufi is completely separated from the world, and engaged only in prayer and meditation, 133; — *ch. mā'kūsa*, 'performing the *chilla* in hanging upside down in a dark place', 25, 87, 132, [forty days retreat] 24*

- dahri*, materialist, 196
- dā'ī*, missionary, 87; especially in Isma'īlism, 70-74; *dā'ī mutlaq*, the highest authority in the Bohora community, 71
- dā'ira*, 'circle', small cell for a lonely Sufi, 26*; community center for the Mahdawis, 43
- dajjal*, the evil spirit who will appear before the end of the world to stir up anarchy and will then be killed by Jesus or the Mahdi, 208
- dār ul-harb*, 'war-zone', enemy territory, i.e., an area where the Muslims are not in power and which has to be conquered. Former *dār ul-Islām* becomes *dār ul-harb* when the legal decisions of the infidels are exclusively followed and none of the Muslim laws is obeyed. (The jurists who considered India under British rule *not* to be *dār ul-harb* could claim that Islamic law was still obeyed in personal status law). If a country becomes *dār ul-harb*, the Muslims should leave it and emigrate to *dār ul-Islām* (hence the numerous Indians who left the country for Mecca), 180, 181, 220
- dār al-'ulūm*, 'house of sciences', institute for higher education, 15, 172, 209, 219
- darbār*, court, reception at court, 54
- dargāh*, shrine, seat of a Sufi master, 25, 28, 122*, 138; — of Bahā'uddīn Zakariyā, 32; of the Qādiriyya in Uchh, 125; — of Maḥdūm Nūh, 142
- darshan*, vision, the appearance of the emperor at his window or on the balcony to bless people by his radiance, 102
- das avatār*, genre of Isma'īlī literature, particularly the Satpanthis, in which 'Alī, the first imām, is described as the long awaited tenth *avatār* of Vishnu, 73, 74
- da'wa(t)*, 'claim, missionary activity', office of the *dā'ī*, esp. in Isma'īlī Islam, 70, 72
- dhikr*, 'remembrance', the repetition of Divine Names or religious formulas, 24, 30, 42, 60, 67, 76, 91, 98, 132, 140, 142; *dh. jāfī*, repetition with loud voice, 90, 140, 170; — *dh. qalbi*, silent repetition in the heart, 90, 140, 160; — *dh. 'aini*, state when the *dhikr* permeates man's whole being, 140. *Dh.* belongs to the central duties of every mystic.
- dhimmi*, a free non-Muslim living under Muslim rule, who pays the capitation tax, *jizya*, and in return is protected by the Muslim government. Originally, only *ahl al-kitāb* are included in this category since all others (pagans, idol-worshippers) have to be converted or fought. *Dhimmis* should not ride horses, should wear a distinct, modest dress, and should not perform their religious services in a way offending Muslim feelings. They can repair their places of worship but should not build new ones. The Hindus, although 'idol-worshippers', were included in this category for practical purposes, 17, 182
- Dhū'l-hijja*, last month of the Muslim year, in which the pilgrimage to Mecca (*hajj*) takes place, 71, 119
- Dhū'l-qāda*, eleventh month of the Muslim year, 123
- din-i ilāhī*, eclectic religious movement created by Akbar; it had only 19 members, one of them being a Hindu, 82, 83
- dinpanāhi*, protection of religion, according to Baranī the most important duty of a Muslim king, 13, 14
- diwān*, collection of poems
- du'a*, petition, free prayer besides the prescribed five daily prayers, 196
- duldul*, 'Alī's white mule on which he, according to legend, conquered the fortress of Khaibar, 120, 135
- durūd*, formulas of blessing for the Prophet, 122
- falsafa*, philosophy, usually Greek philosophy and its elaboration by Muslim thinkers, which was considered to be in conflict with the Islamic religious tenets, and therefore condemned by the orthodox and the mystics alike, 210
- fanā*, 'annihilation', *Entwerden* of the mystic in God, 157, 162. In later times three degrees were developed: *f. fi'sh-shaikh*, complete spiritual unity with the religious guide which should lead to *f. fi'r-rasūl*, annihilation in the Prophet, 154; finally *f. fi Allah*, annihilation in God. *fanā* is man's complete submersion in the Divine, but according to the 'sober' schools of Sufism it should be followed by *baqā*, 'remaining in God' and living in and through him.

- faqir*, 'poor', general name for the mystic, 14, 47, 48, 84, 130, 131, 136; in later times often used in a pejorative sense. Sometimes added to the proper name of a Sufi poet or musician (Allan Faqir).
- faqr*, 'poverty', quality of the Prophet who claimed that poverty was his pride; ideal of the mystic both in the sense of not possessing anything in this world and not to be possessed by anything, 138, 227
- farā'id* (*farā'iz*), religious duties of the Muslim, 179; the fragments of heritage in inheritance law as mentioned in the Koran (Sura 4/12-15 and 4/175), 117*
- farḍ*, *farz*, religious duty; *farḍ al-'ain* (*farz-i 'ain*) religious duty incumbent upon the individual, 87, 159
- farr-i izādī*, 'divine glory', the old Iranian *khwarena* by which the true king is distinguished, 82
- fātiha*, the first *sūra* of the Koran, repeated at every religious occasion, 232; special ceremonies in which *fātiha* is recited over food or for the benefit of a deceased person, 115, 118, 122, 123, 129, 169
- fatwā*, pl. *fatāwā*, formal legal opinion, pronounced by a lawyer (*mufti*) trained in *shari'a* law in answering a problem posed before him either by a *qāḍi* or a private person and usually dealing with personal status law. Collections of *fatwas* allow interesting insights into the real problems of the Muslim community at various times, 16, 39, 56, 68, 99, 181, 193, 210, 211*, 218, 219, 238
- fidā'iyyīn*, 'those who sacrifice themselves' in the service of a religious leader, such as for the Ismā'īlī leader Hasan-i Sabbāh or the Hurr for Pir Pāgārō, 241
- fiqh*, Islamic jurisprudence, built upon the Koran and the Prophetic tradition (*sunna*), to which is added analogy from preceding legal cases (*qiyās*) and *ijmā'*, the general acceptance of a rite, custom, or legal decision by the jurists of a certain time. Different elaborations in the four legal schools (*madhhab*), 8, 9, 15, 19, 62, 160, 173, 196, 199, 203, 210, 235
- fitan*, pl. of *fitna*, anarchic evils which foreshadow the end of the world, 208
- fīrat*, natural disposition, 155
- Five Pillars of Islam, profession of faith, five daily prayers, alms tax (*zakāt*), fasting in Ramaḍān (*ṣaum*, *rōza*), and pilgrimage to Mecca (*hajj*), 72
- futūḥ*, unsolicited gifts (in dervish circles), 25, 209
- Ghadir Khumm*, the place where the Prophet invested his cousin and son-in-law 'Alī as his successor, according to Shia tradition; the day is commemorated on 18 Dhu'l-hijja, 71
- ghawth*, 'help', title of the highest member of the hierarchy of saints, particularly 'Abdulqādir Gilānī
- ghazal*, lyrical poem of ideally 5-12 couplets with monorhyme, the first two hemistichs rhyming. The *ghazal* usually deals with love, either earthly (*majāzī*, i.e. 'metaphorical') or spiritual (*haqīqī*, 'true, real'); the poet's pen-name is usually mentioned in the last verse. The form is common in Persian, Urdu, Turkish, and less frequent in the regional languages of India, 32, 65, 167
- ghurba*, exile, 157
- gīnān*, religious poetry of the Ismā'īlīs, written mainly in Sindhi, Gujarati, and Cutchi, 73
- h*, last letter of the word *Allāh*, letter pointing to *huwiya*, Divine Ipseity, 93
- habs-i dam*, 'keeping one's breath' for a long time during the *dhikr*, breath-control, 24, 50, 98
- hadīth*, tradition from the Prophet, containing his remark at a given situation. The *h*. forms the basis of Muslim life; it consists of the text (*matn*) and the chain of transmitters (*isnād*), which is carefully sifted to prove the authenticity of a *h*. The absolutely reliable *h*. were collected in six collections in the second half of the 9th century; among them, those of Bukhārī (d. 870) and Muslim (d. 875), called *ṣaḥīhain*, are particularly important, 4, 5, 8, 15, 17, 28, 29, 31, 33, 48, 58, 62, 70, 94, 95, 106, 108, 116*, 119, 125, 153, 160, 166, 168, 173, 181, 195, 199, 207, 209, 210, 235
- hafiz*, 'who knows the Koran by heart', 69

- hajj*, pilgrimage to Mecca, which every Muslim should perform once in his life, provided he has the means to do so. The *hajj* takes place in the first ten days of *Dhū'l-hijja*, 169; — *hajji* one who has performed the pilgrimage, 38
- hajw-gōʾ*, in Shia circles satirical recitations against 'A'isha, Muhammad's youngest wife, and the first three caliphs who are supposed to have arrogated to themselves the caliphate which was meant for 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, 176
- hamā ūst*, 'Everything is He', ecstatic utterance of those mystics who believe in the Unity of Being (*waḥdat al-wujūd*), especially the poets, 93; *hamā az ūst*, 'Everything is from Him' is the statement of the 'sober' mystics, 94
- Hanafites*, followers of the legal school of Abū Ḥanīfa (d. 767) which is widespread among the Turkish peoples, 1, 8, 15, 46, 62, 79, 86, 160, 184, 207
- haqqā'iq*, 'realities', term for Bohora theology, 72
- haqqīqat*, 'Reality', the last stage on the mystical path, *ṭarīqa*, which is founded on the *sharī'a*, Divine Law, and leads to the Divine Reality, 53, 87
- haqqāniyya*, the quality of the Divine name *al-Haqq*, 'The Truth', in Shāh Walīullah's system the highest mystical experience in which man is as it were covered by the Divine Truth, 156
- ḥarīm*, 'sacred place', the female members of the household, 52
- hāzīr imām*, 'The present *imām*', title of the Agha Khan in the Khoja community, 214
- hidāya*, guidance by which God guides everything created, 233
- hijra*, emigration a) of the Prophet from Mecca to Medina in 622, the beginning of the Muslim era; b) of Muslims from a formerly Islamic area which has become *dār ul-ḥarb* to an Islamic country, 184, 189; c) particularly the migration of tens of thousands of Muslims to Afghanistan during the *khilāfat*-movement 1921, 220
- hikma*, wisdom, 156; *hikmat al-ishrāq*, 'philosophy of illumination', the mystical theories of Shihābuddīn Suhrawardī Maqtūl (ex. 1191) which combine hellenistic and ancient oriental currents and envisage man's salvation as a process of increasing illumination, 83
- ḥubb*, 'love'; *ḥ. imānī*, love as manifested through faith, the way of sobriety and fulfillment of one's religious duties, while *ḥ. 'ishqī* 'enthusiastic love-relation' points to the state of the 'intoxicated', ecstatic mystic. Terminology of Ismā'īlī Shāhid (d. 1831), based on the traditional contrast between the sober and the intoxicated, the 'prophetic' and the 'mystical' approach to religion, 183
- ḥujjat*, 'proof', the second highest member in the Ismā'īlī hierarchy, corresponding to the First Intellect, 72
- huwīya*, Divine Ipseity, 93
- ibāḥatiya*, 'the people of incest', often used by medieval Muslim writers for the Carmatians or Ismā'īlīs who were accused of immorality because their women did not wear a veil, 17, 70
- 'īd*, feast, mainly the two major feasts of Islam, 180, 181; the *'īd ul-fitr* at the end of the month of fasting, 69, 109, 119; and the *'īd ul-adḥā* during the pilgrimage, when every Muslim has to slaughter an animal, 109. This day, in India often called *baqar 'īd*, has caused numerous communal disturbances because Muslims would sacrifice not only goats and sheep but also cows, 119 — *'īd ul-ghadir*, celebrated on 18 *Dhū'l-hijja* by the Shia to commemorate 'Alī's investiture as the Prophet's successor, 119; — *'īdgāh*, spacious place with a simple prayer niche where the faithful assemble for the morning prayer during the two *'īd*, 107, 109, 119; — *'īdī* gift distributed during the *'īd*, 114, 119
- iftā*, 'issuing *fatwās*', 209
- ihsān*, 'to do well' or, in modern Sufi interpretation, 'to do everything as beautifully as possible', is taken to mean 'to act as if one were constantly in God's presence', hence 'the interiorization of ritual acts', 207, 234
- i'jāz*, inimitability of the Koran which, according to the Muslims, is unsurpassable in its language and content since it is God's uncreated speech, 195
- ijmā'*, one of the 'roots' of Islamic jurisprudence, e.g., the consensus of the scholars in a certain time about the lawfulness of a certain custom or rite, 206, 228

- ijtihād*, 'striving', the right to go back to the roots of jurisprudence and not to cling to the solutions codified by one of the legal schools. After the 11th century, *ijtihād* was no longer allowed, but the best thinkers of Islam always tried to derive their solutions of crucial questions directly from Koran and *sunna* without feeling bound to previous judgments, 53, 82, 154, 220
- illā*, 'but', i.e., the second part of the profession of faith 'There is no god but God', cypher for the positive statement of God's existence and all-embracing unity, 229, 232
- ʿilm*, 'scholarship, science', often knowledge of one's religious duties, 158; also contrasted with *maʿrifa*, 'immediate knowledge, gnosis'
- imām*, the leader of the community in ritual prayer, 14, 86, or in religious matters, 157, 182; in Shia theology the leader of the community who is a descendant of ʿAlī and Muhammad's daughter Faṭīma, 46. The main body of Shiites believes that the twelfth *imām* was occultated in 874 and will return at the end of the world, 55, 60, 71, 132, 136, 169, 175, 176, 186: this *imām mahdī*'s birthday is celebrated on 15 Shaʿbān, 122. Other groups lead the line only to the fifth *imām* (Zaidites) or to the seventh (Ismāʿīlīs), 70-73. — *imām ṣāmin* 'the protecting i.', in Indian folk piety ʿAlī Rīzā, the eighth i. (d. 807) 123, — *imām rabbānī*, 'divinely guided leader' of the community, title of Aḥmad Sirhindī, 92. — *Imāmbārah* a large building where the Shiites celebrate Muḥarram and keep the implements for the celebrations, 120, 135, 164, 174, 175
- īmān*, faith, the inward aspect of *islām*, 207, 234
- insān-i kāmīl*, the Perfect Man, usually thought to be represented by the Prophet Muhammad, 83, 230
- inshā Allāh*, 'if God will', should always be used when speaking of a future event. Also, like Bismillah, used as proper name
- iqṭāʿ*, fief for military officers, 22
- ʿishq*, dynamic love, according to Iqbal the moving principle of the world, 234
- islām*, 'surrender', the act of becoming a *muslim*, with its religious and legal implications, 207, 234
- ʿismaʿī*, 'sinlessness', immunity from error and sin, quality of the prophets and the Shia *imāms*, 155, 195. S.a. *maʿṣūm*
- istidrāj*, miracle worked by satanic powers, 55
- ʿitikāf*, spending a certain period in seclusion in a mosque, 118
- ṭwān*, portico, arched hall, 54
- jāgīr*, landgrant, 83, 85*
- jālāl*, Divine Majesty, the *mysterium tremendum*, 21, 41, 91
- jamāʿat*, 'group, community', 243; — *j.-i mujāhidīn*, community of those who fight in the Holy War (*jihād*), 184
- jamāʿatkhāna*, center of the early Chishtī dervishes where all inmates lived in one big room, 26, 27; among the Ismāʿīlīs, the assembly hall where worship is performed, 17*, 73; assembly hall of the Mahdawīs, 118
- jamāl*, Divine Beauty, the *mysterium fascinans*, 21, 41
- jāmiʿ*, the congregational mosque where Friday prayers are held, 106
- jānbāz*, 'who gives up his life', the élite corps in the Khāksār movement, 240
- jauhar*, self-immolation in order to avoid defeat or loss of honor, 153
- jhandā*, 'flag', often the center of sacred places, 123
- jihād*, 'holy war', against the infidels, 36, 164, 168, 182, 206, 207, 209, 213, 236, 241; in mystical Islam the constant struggle against one's base instincts
- jikr*, from *dhikr*, 'recollection', poetical form used in medieval Gujarat, 67
- jizya*, capitation tax (based on Sura 9/29) paid by the *ahl al-kitāb* who are in turn protected by the Muslims and exempt from Military service, 5, 9, 10*, 21, 22 (upon Brahmans), 45, 66, 83, 93, 102
- Jumāda al-ūlā*, fifth lunar month of the Islamic year
- Jumāda al-ākhira*, sixth lunar month of the Islamic year

- juz'* 'ammā, the last of the thirty parts (*juz'*) of the Koran, beginning with Sūra 78: 'ammā *yatasā'ālūn* to the last, 114th, sūra. Memorization of the Koran begins with this part, which contains the short *sūras* most frequently recited in ritual prayer, 114
- kāst*, Sindhi and Panjabi lyrical verse form, usually sung by a solo voice and a chorus, 143
- kāfir*, pl. *kuffar*, 'ungrateful', then 'infidel', 39, 169, 182
- kalām*, 'ilm ul-, the scholastic theology of Islam, 15, 173, 186, 194, 210
- kalima*, 'word', the profession of faith in Islam
- kapāit*, old Sindhi tune for spinning songs, used in mystical *charkh-nāmas*, 140
- kashf*, revelation which the seeker is granted; *k*, 'aql, intellectual revelation, which can be achieved by polishing one's moral faculties, 193
- kauthar*, 'abundance', name of a fountain in Paradise; in Sūra 108 the Prophet is promised the *kauthar* while his adversary will be *abtar*, 'without offspring', 145
- khair*, 'good'; in Ghulām Parwez's system 'social welfare', 238
- khalīfa*, vicegerent, successor of a mystical leader, 26, 27, 100, 183; of Chirāgh-i Delhi, 41, 52; — of Farīd Ganj-i shakar, 27, 28; — of Bakhtīār Kākī, 25; — of the Mahdī, 42; of Miān Mir, 98; — of Maẓhar, 158, 160; — of Mirzā Ghulām Aḥmad, 212; — of Saḥīm Chishtī, 76; — of Wajībuddīn Gujarātī, 70; — of the devil, 193. In political theory, the successor of the Prophet as leader of the community. The idea that the *kḥ.* has jurisdiction over all Muslims is a rather modern development which has no basis in classical law. — *kḥ. Allāh*: according to Sūra 2/31, God made Adam his *khalīfa*, his vicegerent on earth, which points to man's high rank among the creatures. The expression *kḥ. Allāh* was sometimes used by rulers who wanted to stress the Islamic character of their government, 19, 49, 155
- khalwaft*, 'seclusion', place for meditation, 103. In Iqbāl's philosophy the time when man is alone with God during prayer and meditation, from which he will emerge fortified with spiritual power to manifest (*jilwā*) God's will in the world, 231
- khamṣa*, 'five', quintet, in Persian literature the five epics by Nizāmī (d. 1209) which have often been imitated in Indo-Persian, Turkish, and Urdu literature: *Pandnāma*, *Iskandarnāma*, *Laili Majnūn*, *Khusrau Shirin*, and *Haft Paikar*, 85
- khanqāh*, dwelling place of Sufis, usually a large compound where the *shaykh* and his family as well as the dervishes live; often a school, a public kitchen and other facilities were attached to it, 16, 18, 26, 67, 128, 130, 158, 178; — of Bahā'uddīn Zakariyā, 31; — of Chirāgh-i Delhi, 19; — of Farīd Ganj-i shakar, 25; — of Sayyid Muḥammad, 45; — of Simnānī, 132, 133
- kḥāṣṣ mahāl*, state property, 180
- khatm*, complete reading or recitation of a religious text such as the Koran or Bukhārī's *ṣaḥīḥ*, 125*
- khalāfat*, caliphate, the rank of a *khalīfa* in Sufism, 25, 35; a Sufi master granted *kḥ.* to his most trustworthy disciples with a *khalāfatnāma*, 26. — Politically, the office of the caliph of the Muslims, and his role as leader of the Muslim world, 219, 221; *khalāfat*-movement began after World War I with the goal to make the Ottoman caliph the head of all Muslims; it was the first mass movement among the Indian Muslims who cooperated, at that point, with Gandhi, 64, 214, 219-221, 228, 233
- k'htir chatōl*, ceremony when the child gets its first food besides milk, 113
- khirqa*, patched frock worn by the Sufis. The investiture with the *kḥ.* forms part of the introduction into the *ṭarīqa*, the mystical path, for the master gives through the *kḥ.* some of his *baraka* to the disciple, 26. Besides the *kḥ.* given by the master to whom one has pledged *ba'a* one may obtain a *khirqa* from other masters whom one visits (*kḥ. at-taḥarruk*) 33, 66
- kḥūdī*, 'selfhood', in traditional Sufism a negative concept, in Iqbāl's philosophy, however, the individual's essence which has to be strengthened and developed to its utmost limits, 224
- kḥutba*, sermon, given in the Friday noon community prayer in the mosque; at its end the name of the ruling king or the caliph is mentioned, hence its political importance, 36, 60
- kḥutna*, circumcision of boys. Although not mentioned in the Koran, it is an essential part of Muslim tradition, for the Prophet was born circumcised, as it is told, 113

- khwāja*, 'master, teacher', title of the forerunners of the Naqshbandi Sufis; name of a middle class group in Indo-Pakistan. In the pronunciation *khōja* designation of the Aghākhāni (Nizārī) Ismā'īlīs, 73
- kufic*, early style of writing, mainly used during the first four centuries for Korans and for epigraphic purposes. The letters are stiff and angular, without diacritical marks, and in epigraphy often plaited or decorated with palmettes, arabesques, and other designs, 5, 10, 107, 108, 171
- kufr*, infidelity, s. *kāfir*, 182
- kufūwat*, 'equality', appropriateness, esp. in marriages: the husband has to be of the same or a higher social group than the bride, 115
- lā*, 'no', shortened from *lā ilāh* 'there is no deity' [save God], the negative beginning of the profession of faith, which points to the non-existence of anything besides God, 229
- lailat ul-qadr*, 'the Night of Might' mentioned in Sūra 97, one of the last odd nights in Ramaḍān (usually thought to be the 27th), in which the first revelation of the Koran took place; it is endowed with much *baraka* so that the pious hope to be blessed by the vision of heavenly light or spiritual enlightenment when performing supererogatory acts of worship, 118, 128
- langar*, *langarkhāna*, public kitchen attached to many Sufi shrines, 27, 44, 55
- lutf*, 'kindness, grace', expression of God's *jamāl*, 21
- m*, see *mīm*
- madāh* (from *madh*, 'praise'), in Sindhi praise song in honour of the Prophet or some major saints, 122
- madhab*, legal school. Four of them are currently active: Hanafites (predominantly in Turkish areas), Shāfi'ites (mainly in the Arab countries, West Africa, Indonesia, South India), Mālikites (mainly in the Western Islamic world), and Hanbalites, in their sternest from as Wahhābites in Saudi Arabia, 8, 62, 65, 154
- madīna*, 'city', in Indian Shia Islam the center of the *imāmbāra*, 164
- madrasa*, institution for higher education, 'college', where Islamic sciences are taught, 11, 13, 15, 19, 22, 34, 40, 52, 54, 55, 58, 67, 141, 167, 172, 173, 178, 187, 192, 199, 209, 210
- maghrib* prayer, the fourth of the five prescribed prayers, offered immediately after sunset, 124
- mahabbā*, love, lovingkindness, 234
- mahbūb*, 'beloved', with various divine attributes (*mahbūb-i ilāhī*, 28, *mahbūb-i subhānī*, 121, etc.) title of high ranking mystical leaders; *mahbūbiyat*, 'the rank of being a beloved of God', 91
- mahdī*, 'rightly guided', a religious leader who, according to Shia and popular belief, will appear from the family of the Prophet at the end of time 'to fill the earth with justice as it is filled with injustice', 132, 154, 156. This primarily Shiite concept remained popular in Islam, so that a number of religious leaders claimed to be the promised *mahdī*; all of them were however rejected by the Sunni theologians, 22, 42, 43, 76, 118, 163, 211
- mahr*, dower, bridal money, which is an essential part of the marriage contract; the money belongs to the wife, 115
- muḥzar*, 'royal presence', 'petition'; specially the document read in Akbar's presence to invest him with the power of independent judgment in religious matters and thus placing him above the religious authorities (1579), 82
- majlis*, 'meeting', 'session'. In Shia lore, a meeting to commemorate the events of Kerbelā, 120, 125, 175
- maktab*, Muslim primary school, 192
- al-mala' al-a'la*, the supreme assembly of angels, 155
- malāmātī*, from *malāma*, 'blame': people who rather perform outwardly blameworthy acts than unveil their high spiritual rank; group of mystics who do not care—or pretend not to—for the externals of Islam, 35
- malang*, dervish of the *bē shar'* type, who is attached to certain shrines, or wanders around, with his hair, beard, and moustaches shaved, 35, 128, 136

- maẓfūzār*, sayings of a Sufi master, collected by his disciples, 29, 34, 53, 142
- malik at-tujjār*, 'king of merchants', highest rank of civilians in the Bahmanid kingdom, 54
- malik al-ʿulamā*, 'king of scholars', honorific title of outstanding scholars, 38, 40
- manṣabdarī*, the system of fief—and office holding as elaborated under the Moghuls, particularly under Akbar, 83
- maqāma*, piece of Arabic belles-lettres in highly ornate rhyming prose, 175
- maʿqūlār*, the rational sciences (philosophy, mathematics, etc.), 37
- mard-i mōmīn*, the true believer. In Iqbal's philosophy the highest stage of man. *mard*, 'man' was always the 'ideal human being' for the Sufis, the man who is not 'like animals, nay more astray' (Sūra 7/179) but has reached the greatest possible proximity to God, 230, 231
- marifati*, lyrical Bengali religious songs, 148
- marthiya*, dirge, particularly poetry written in commemoration of Husain's death in Kerbela, 61, 146*, 161, 176, 177, 200
- marthiya-gōṭī*, 'composing a *m.*' 177.
- marthiya-khʿwān*, artist who recites marthiyas, 125
- maṣḥūta*, 'women's hairdresser'; she knows the women in the village or a district and can therefore serve as go-between in marriage proposals, 115
- maṣjid*, 'place where one prostrates', building for worship, 106, 107
- maṣlaḥa*, welfare, the public weal, 155
- ma-ṣūm*, innocent, protected from error, infallible, 71
- mathnawī*, poem in rhyming distichs with heroic, romantic or mystico-didactic contents, 28, 34, 47, 57, 139, 183, 186, 224, 225, 227. The *Mathnawī* par excellence is that by Jalāluddīn Rūmī, composed between 1256 and 1273 in more than 26000 verses; it has inspired Indo-Muslim poetry and mystical thought more than any other work besides the Koran.
- maulid*, *maulūd*, birthday of the Prophet, celebrations at this occasion, 121, 124, 125, and poetry written in his honour, 148, 190
- maulūd-i muḥammadi*, calendar introduced by Tipū Sultān (d. 1799) in the Carnatic, 168
- maulānā*, *maulwī*, 'lord, master', title of Muslim theologians who had studied in the madrasa; see also *mulla*, 207, 241
- mazār*, 'place for a visit', grave of a nobleman or, more frequently, a saint, 129
- mela*, fair at the tomb of some saint, usually in connection with the anniversary of his death, 122, 133
- mīhrāb*, prayer niche, pointing to the direction of Mecca, 58, 107, 113
- milād*, 'birthday', usually of the Prophet, see also *maulid*, 121
- millat*, religious community, 243
- mīm*, letter of the Arabic alphabet, numerical value forty, symbol of Muḥammad whose name is spelled in Arabic *mḥmd*, 92. A wellknown tradition makes God say *and Aḥmad bilā mīm*, 'I am Aḥmad (honorific name of Muḥammad) without a m,' that means *Aḥad*, 'One'. Muslim mystics love allusions to this *mīm*, or to the two *mīms* which constitute the Prophet's name, 92
- mīʿrāj*, Muḥammad's heavenly journey in which he reached the immediate presence of God. Descriptions of this event, mentioned very briefly in Sūra 17/1, are frequent in poetry, and the mystics interpret the *mīʿrāj* as a model for their own spiritual flight, 122. Celebrated in Rajab, 156
- mīrāḍ*, designation of people of Persian or Turkish extraction; often in general 'gentleman'
- mlechha*, 'barbarian', 'impure': the Muslims in the eyes of the Hindus, 7
- muʿāwin*, 'helper'; among the Khāksār, the reserve units, 240
- mubashshirāt*, 'glad tidings', conversations which Shāh Walīullāh had with the Prophet, 157
- muftī*, who issues a *fatwā*, 89, 173, 186, 207
- muhājir*, someone who undertakes the *hijra*; in recent times, the Muslims who tried to emigrate to Afghanistan in 1921; then the Muslims who left India in the wake of partition to settle in Pakistan, 220

- muḥarrām*, first lunar month of the Islamic year. On the tenth of M. 680 (= 10.10.680) Husain ibn 'Alī was killed by government troops in the battle of Kerbela. To observe Muḥarrām with mourning and various processions is part of Shia lore, 14, 38, 61, 96, 102, 120, 123, 146, 161, 164, 174, 175, 176, 183
- muḥtasib*, the market inspector who is in charge of the orderly behaviour in public, control of prices, and public moral, prohibition of alcoholics, etc. Therefore in poetry often symbol of the legalistic-minded enemy of the loving, intoxicated mystics, 17, 89, 96
- mujaddid*, 'renovator'. A *m.* is supposed to appear at the beginning of every century in Islam, 156, 212. The most important *m.* is Ahmad Sirhindi who preached at the beginning of the second millenium *hijrī* (d. 1624) and is therefore called *m-i alf-i ṭhānī* 'renovator of the second millenium', 92, 94
- mujāhid*, someone who participates in the *jihād*; fighter for Islam, 184, 185, 240
- mujtahid*, someone who exerts the right of *ijtihād*, free use of the basic sources of law, without following any of the four *madhḥabs*, 82
- mukḥṭ*, trustworthy official in Ismā'īlī Islam, who is in charge of the tithe and administrative work, 73
- mulhamāt*, 'inspired sayings', 27
- mulhid*, 'apostate, heretic', 53
- mulā*, 'master, lord', title—like Maulānā, Maulwī—of the theological scholars, often used in a pejorative sense to denote fossilized jurisconsults who cling to the letter of the law without knowing its spirit, 6, 34, 99, 113, 135, 196, 230
- mullā jī ṣāhib*, title of the Bohora *dā'ī*, 71
- mumkin bi-dh-dhāt*, essentially possible, 186
- mumtani' an-naẓr*, impossible that a certain thing or person should have a peer: there can be no other Seal of Prophets after Muhammad, 186
- munaqibā*, 'legends, miracles', literary genre in Sindhi which tells the miracles of the Prophet and saints, 124
- murīd*, disciple in the mystical path, 141*, 187
- murshid*, guide, spiritual leader, 50, 155
- musaddas*, sixlined stanza with the rhyme scheme aaaaxx, bbbbx etc., used in the 19th century primarily for *marṭhiyā*; the *musaddas* par excellence is Ḥālī's poem 'The Ebb and Flood of Islam' 1879
- muṣhaḥ ḥarsī*, 'Koran and mirror', ceremony when the bridegroom sees his wife's face for the first time in a mirror while she is reading the Koran, 116
- musulmānī*, popular name of the circumcision, by which the boy becomes a true member of the community, 113
- mu'tazilite*, a theological school which was for some decades in the 9th century the official creed of the Abbasid caliphate. The M. used philosophical terminology to defend their theology which includes the idea of God's absolute unity so that even the Koran was accepted not as His uncreated, co-eternal speech but only as His created word; further God's absolute justice: He must punish the sinners and recompense the pious, etc. The term was later often used for those who used their intellect in theological discussion, or for rationalists, 15, 196
- muwallih*, 'who causes confusion', a group of *bē shar'* dervishes in the 13th century who performed, among other things, firewalking. The vocalization *muwallah* 'who is out of his mind' would also be fitting, 16, 53
- nadhīr*, 'vow', votive offering, oblation, 26; *n. Allāh* 'to vow a child to God in a special act', 113
- naḥs*, 'soul', the lower instincts, 139. The Koran, and following it the Muslims, discern *an-naḥs al-ammāra* (Sūra 12/59), the soul that incites to evil; *an-naḥs al-lawwāma* (Sūra 75/2) the 'blaming soul', conscience, and *an-naḥs al-muṭma'inna* (Sūra 89/27), the 'soul at peace' which is called to return to its lord. — *naḥs-i girā*, cardiognosy, soul reading, 32
- na'ib amīr al-mu'mintn*, 'representative of the prince of the Faithful' title of sultans who claimed to be only vicegerents of the caliphs, 36

- namāzghāh*, place where the ritual prayer (Pers. *namāz*) can be performed, 107
- naskh*, the normal cursive handwriting as contrasted to the Kufic script. Numerous styles exist among which the huge and impressive *thuluth* is often found in epigraphy from the 13th century onward, 108
- nasta'liq*, developed out of the 'hanging' (*ta'liq*) ductus around 1400. This elegant calligraphic style was used in Iran, India, and partly in Ottoman Turkey, 62, 108
- na't*, poetry in praise of the Prophet, 85, 125
- naugaza*, 'nine yards long', legendary saints of huge size whose tombs are shown in various regions of India, 137
- nau shāh*, 'new king', name of the bridegroom in some areas, 115
- naurūz*, New Year, celebrated according to the Persian calendar on the vernal equinox, March 20/21, especially by members of the Persian-Turkish aristocracy, 61, 123
- nawā'if*, descendants of Arab settlers who intermarried with Indians 63, 67, 167
- nēchari*, 'naturalist', Urdu neologism for Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khān and his followers who seemed to pay too little attention to the superrational and supernatural aspects of religion, 196
- neti neti*, the negative description of the Divine in the Upanishads, 234
- nikāhnāma*, marriage contract, 115
- nisba*, relationship to a family or a place (expressed by the final ending *ī*, like Kāzim > Kāzimī, Daibul > Daibulī); relationship to a spiritual guide, 5, 154
- pākḥāz*, 'who gives up everything', second rank among the Khāksār, 240
- panjtan*, 'The Five', the Prophet Muhammad, his daughter Fāṭima, her husband 'Alī and their two sons Hasan and Husain, 61, 120
- pir*, Persian equivalent to the Arabic *shāikh* 'old man', 'venerable leader': the mystical leader, 26, 27, 28, 68, 93, 111*, 112, 113, 115, 116, 117, 135, 138, 146, 149, 172, 187, 235; *pir bhā'ī*, Sufis who have been educated by the same mystical leader, 41; *piri-murīdī*, the relation between spiritual guide and disciple, which entails absolute obedience of the *murīd* who should be in his *pir*'s hands like a corpse in the hand of the undertaker, 180
- purdah*, 'veil', the seclusion of women, 12, 110, 111, 116, 117, 195, 201, 207, 212, 213, 237
- qadam (-i) rasūl*, 'the Prophet's foot', footprints on stone which were brought from Mecca or Medina by pious pilgrims, and venerated in special buildings, also small pictures of such a footprint, 49, 121, 126
- qāḍī*, judge in *shari'a* law, 10, 14, 15, 19, 39-41, 45, 63, 64, 69, 71, 88, 94, 96, 103, 119
- qāḍir*, *al-*, 'The Powerful', one of God's 99 names, 99
- qā'im*, 'firm, steadfast', standing for someone, representative; rank in the Ismā'īlī spiritual hierarchy; *qā'im az-zamān* in Shia Islam title of the *mahdī*, arrogated for himself by Shāh Waliullah, 156
- qahr*, 'force, compulsion', God's wrathful aspect, contrary to *luṭf*, 21
- qalandar*, wandering dervish who usually fulfills only the minimum requirements of the religious law, 16, 34, 35, 53, 137
- qaṣida*, long poem with monorhyme, usually panegyric. After a lyrical or descriptive introduction the poet sings the praise of a king, an important person, or of God or the Prophet. Persian, Turkish and Urdu poets have displayed every possible rhetorical skill in this form. In the folk tradition, a *qaṣida*-like form was achieved by simply filling the last consonant of a verse with a long *a*, 60, 67, 84, 171
- qaum*, 'people, nation', 197, 243; *qaumiyat*, nationalism, national consciousness, 197
- qawwālī*, musicians who specialize in religious songs. The money which the listener donates to them when he is moved by one particular line of poetry is offered to the Pir who blesses it and adds an equivalent from his own pocket before giving it to the musicians, 128, 134*
- qayyim*, 'straight', custodian, 160
- qayyūm*, in Naqshbandī *mujaddidī* theory the Executor of the Divine will, the highest spiritual leader on earth, manifestation of 'the Breath of the Merciful'; title assumed by Ahmad Sirhīndī for himself and three of his descendants, who played a role in Moghul politics, 92, 94, 154-156

- qibla*, the direction to Mecca where the Muslim turns for his ritual prayer; prayer direction, 28, 107
- qiyāmat*, resurrection at the end of time; in Ismā'īlī theology the 'spiritual resurrection' pronounced on August 8, 1264 by Ḥasan 'alā dhikrihī's-salām, which can be regarded as the starting point of a genuine new interpretation of Islamic values in the Ismā'īlī community, 72
- qurb*, 'proximity'; *q. al-farā'id* proximity to God reached by the punctual fulfillment of religious duties, the sober way of the prophets in which the pious experiences that 'everything is from God', 92, 179; *q. an-nawāfīl*, proximity reached by supererogative works, the way of the intoxicated saints who may reach their goal in the (according to the sober mystics) 'lower' state of embracing unity, 93
- quṭb*, 'pole, axis', the highest member of the hierarchy of saints around whom the world revolves, 92
- Rabb al-'ālamīn*, 'Lord of the worlds', as God is called in the first line of the *fātiha*, 233
- Rabī' al-awwal*, the third lunar month in which Muhammad's birthday and death are celebrated on the 12th, 37, 96, 121, 174
- Rabī'ath-thānī*, the fourth lunar month, in which 'Abdulqādir Gilānī's memorial day is celebrated on the 11th, 121, 176
- rahma*, 'mercy', 34, 233, 234, one of God's central qualities as manifested in His names *ar-rahmān ar-rahīm* 'The Merciful the Compassionate'. The Prophet was sent 'as mercy for the worlds', *rahmatan lil-'ālamīn* (Sūra 21/107). Rain, too, is called *rahma*, 'mercy', in many Middle Eastern countries
- ar-Rahmān*, 'the Merciful', one of God's 99 names, 38
- ra'īs*, 'leader' (one of the attributes of the Prophet), 155
- Rajab*, the seventh lunar month, in which the commemoration of Muḥammad's ascension to Heaven takes place on the 27th, 96, 122, 131
- rak'a*, unit of prostrations, genuflections and prescribed prayers formulas during the ritual prayer, which consists of two to four *rak'a* each, to which some supererogative *rak'a* are often added, 13, 160
- Ramaḍān*, the ninth lunar month, during which the Koran was first revealed. Fasting from the first light of dawn to the completion of sunset is prescribed, that means that neither food nor drink, smoking, kissing etc. are allowed during daytime; even an injection violates the fasting, 14, 16, 37, 50, 84, 96, 114, 118, 124, 125*, 174
- rasūl*, 'messenger', one of Muḥammad's qualities. Not every prophet is at the same time a 'messenger', whose duty is to promulgate the divine law, 155
- rawāfiṣ* (*rawāfiḍ*), 'dissenters', nickname for various factions of Shiites, 22, 73
- rekhta*, 'mixed', poetical form in which Bengali and Persian were alternating, 48; later used for Urdu poetry
- Riḍwān*, 'God's pleasure', name of one of the guardians at the heavenly gates, 130
- riyāzāt* (*riyāḍāt*), ascetic practices, 236
- rōza koshā*, 'to open the fast', ceremony when a child has reached the age that he/she can participate in the fasting during Ramaḍān, usually the age of nine, 114
- rubūbiyya* (from *rabb*), 'lordship', God's quality of being the supreme lord of the Universe. In classical Sufi theology, *r.* is connected with the right to say 'I'; only God, the Lord, has the right to say so. In Abū'l-Kalām Azad's theology, *r.* means God's looking after the whole world and His loving care for everything, in which His wisdom manifests itself, 233
- ar-rūh al-amīn*, 'the trustworthy spirit', the angel Gabriel, who conveyed God's message to the Prophet, 194
- sabk-i hindī*, 'Indian style', the late, highly involved style of Persian poetry as developed in India during the Moghul time, 140
- sadr amīn*, in British India: sub-judge, 190

- sadr as-sudūr*, highest civil officer in charge of the religious law as well as of landgrants devoted to the maintenance of religious institutions, 18, 77, 81, 82, 96, 186, 191
- Safar*, the second lunar month, usually considered unlucky, 121
- ṣāhibqirān*, 'who has a favorable conjunction', namely of Jupiter and Venus; sobriquet of Timur, but later often used as epithet for any ruler, 98
- sair ilā'l-ashyā*, 'journey to the things', return of the mystic from the unitive experience to work again in the world, 93
- sajjāda*, 'prayer-mat', 26; *sajjādanishīn* successor of a *pīr*, 'who sits on his prayer mat', 26, 33, 97, 130, 138
- salām*, 'Peace', greeting; special prayer for the Prophet which is repeated by pious Muslims whenever his name is mentioned, 121
- salāṭīn* (pl. of *sulṭān*), the numerous princes at the Moghul court who lived, partly under distressing circumstances, in the Red Fort in Delhi during the decline of Moghul power, 185
- samā*, 'hearing', listening to music, mystical concert. The opinions of the Sufis concerning *samā* are divided; some permit it, others, like the Suhrawardiyya and Naqshbandiyya, prohibit music and the mystical dance which often accompanied it, 14, 19, 25, 31, 32, 124, 128, 139, 142
- sanchaq*, 'flag', in some areas the procession of the bridegroom, 115
- satī*, a widow's self-immolation on her husband's funeral pyre, 45, 84
- sātmasa*, ceremony during the seventh month of pregnancy, 111
- satpanth*, 'the true path'; *Satpanthī mōmins* sect of the Ismā'īlīs, mainly in Pirana and Gujarat, 73, 74
- ad-Sattār*, 'The Coverer', one of God's 99 names, 143
- satyagraha*, 'truth force', nonviolent resistance as taught by Gandhi, 239
- ṣaum*, fasting from daybreak to sunset, both in Ramaḍān and on special occasions; *s. dā'ūdī*, 'David's fasting': to eat one day and to fast one fast so that the body does not get accustomed to either way, 25
- sayyid*, descendant of the Prophet through his daughter Fāṭima and her sons Hasan and Husain, a group highly venerated in India, 33, 36, 44-47, 50, 54, 64, 68, 69, 103, 111, 112, 114, 115, 126-128, 146, 154, 162, 166, 170, 171, 174, 182, 214
- sayyidnā*, 'our lord', title of the highest member of the Bohora hierarchy, 71
- Seal of the Prophets, *khāṭam al-anbiyā*, Muḥammad as the last in the long chain of prophets which began with Adam, and as the messenger with the final Divine revelation
- shab-i barāt*, 'night of acquittal', the night of full moon in Sha'ban, during which according to popular belief the fates for the coming year are fixed in heaven. From early time it was celebrated in India with fireworks and lighting of candles, 61, 65, 69, 122, 124, 183
- Sha'ban*, the eight lunar month, 92, 122
- Shāfi'ites, followers of the *madhhab* of ash-Shāfi'ī (d. 820), mainly in the Arab countries, Indonesia, and South India, 1, 8, 62, 63, 65, 89
- shahid*, 'martyr', who is slain for the sake of religion, 133, 183
- shaikh*, 'old man', leader, a mystical leader, 19, 29, 32, 34, 37, 76, 77, 84, 99, 139, 158, 162. In India, *shaikh* means also Muslims of non-sayyid but Arab descent but is generally used for recent converts from Hinduism, 112
- shaikh ul-islām*, title of the highest religious official, 14, 45
- shalwār*, wide pantalons, worn by men and women, 109, 110, 120
- shar'at*, the canon law of Islam, given by Allah, and determining the duties of man in relation to God and to his fellow beings; it comprises cultic and ritual observances ('*ibādāt*') as well as juridical and political obligations (*mu'āmalāt*) and punishments ('*uqūbāt*'), 1, 9, 10, 12, 13, 17, 18, 29, 45, 52, 53, 66, 69, 70, 72, 96, 140, 146, 152, 153, 168, 174, 177, 210, 218*, 219, 220, 228, 232, 235, 238
- Shia, *shī'at 'Alī*, 'the faction of 'Alī', who advocated that he, being the cousin and son-in law of the Prophet should have become Muḥammad's first successor (*khalīfa*). Out of this simple concept various theological movements developed all of which endow the descendants of

- 'Ali with special powers. The Fiver Shia finished the line of his descendants at the fifth imam, Zaid (they are called Zaidites and were active in Northern Iran and in the Yemen); another group digresses at the seventh imam; these were to develop into the various Ismā'īlī groups which are noted for their mystico-philosophical interpretation of Islam, and were always viewed with great mistrust by the Sunnites. The large majority are the Twelver Shia (*ithna'ashari*) who hold that the line of the *imāms* ended with the 12th one, who went into concealment as a mere child to rule the world spiritually. This branch was introduced as state religion in Iran by Shāh Ismā'īl the Safawid in 1501 and has been the official creed until now; major Shia groups are found in India, predominantly Lucknow and Hyderabad. The tension between them and the Sunni majority largely colours Indo-Muslim history.
- shikasta*, 'broken', a style of Persian writing developed in the late 17th century out of *nasta'liq*, difficult to decipher due to the great number of ligatures, 169
- shirk*, 'associating' someone or something with God, hence the greatest sin for a Muslim, 94, 180
- shuddi*, Hindu movement aiming at the reconversion of people recently converted to Islam, 221
- sharfi*, 'thirty letter poem', Golden Alphabet, popular poetical form in which every verse begins with one letter of the alphabet, 141, 142
- sajda*, 'prostration' permitted only before God, however practised also by some Sufis before their master (*sajda-i ta'zim*), 170
- silsila*, 'chain', the chain of initiation which goes from a Sufi master back to the Prophet. It is incumbent upon the novice to learn the *silsila* through which the spiritual blessings of the masters are handed down, 74; Chishtī s. 24, 30, 95; Naqshbandī, 90, 169; Qadiri, 97; Suhrawardī Bukhārī of Uch, 141, 170
- strat*, 'biography', the biography of the Prophet which, after 1890, became an important subject of Indian Muslim historiography. The *strat*-movement aimed at instructing the masses about the life of Muhammad and placing him as the exemplar of all praiseworthy qualities before the faithful, 221
- siyāsāt*, administration, also: capital punishment, 22
- ṣoḥbat* (*ṣuhbat*), companionship; the relation between master and disciple in Sufism. In late Shia tradition, meetings in which the Prophet's youngest wife, 'A'isha, and the first three caliphs were ridiculed and cursed, 176
- sōzkhwān*, person singing dirges during Muharram, 125
- subḥānī*, 'Praise be to me!' ecstatic utterance of Bāyezīd Bisṭāmī (d. 874) who felt completely annihilated in God to whom the exclamation *subḥān Allāh* 'praise be to God!' is due, 40
- Sufism, from *ṣāf* 'wool', (the ascetics' woollen garment): the mystical movement inside Islam which began as asceticism and then developed theories of mystical love and gnosis and, although based on the teachings of the Koran and the *sunna* of the Prophet, adapted a number of spiritual currents such as neo-platonism, Christian ideas, some Indian trends, and was systematized by Ibn 'Arabī (d. 1240). One can discern sober and intoxicated schools, trends toward mysticism of personality and, later, towards mysticism of infinity. The role of Sufism for the development of literature, esp. of poetry in the various Islamic languages as well as the missionary work of the various orders and fraternities is most important for the history of Islam in India.
- sukūnat*, 'tranquillity', the highest stage of the mystical path according to the teachings of the Raushaniyya sect, 87
- ṣulḥ-i kull*, 'Peace with everyone', Akbar's device, which was taken over by later mystics, 83
- sunna*, the tradition of the Prophet, his customs according to which the faithful should act, 1, 26, 133, 145, 160, 190, 195, 207, 220, 246; Sunnites the majority of Muslims, followers of the *sunna* and the rules developed in the community (the Shiites, however, also follow the Prophet's *sunna*).
- sūra*, each of the 114 chapters of the Koran, 129
- suyum*, third day after a death case when certain ceremonies are held, 117

- tabarrā*, 'to declare oneself free from', i.e., not to accept the first three caliphs, as do the Shiites, 90
- tabligh*, missionary work, preaching; name of a movement in the 1920's which aimed at spreading Islam by preaching among recently converted groups, and also among the untouchables, 221
- tabūt*, 'coffin', part of the implements during the Muharram procession, 120
- taḥkīr*, 'reminding', meetings during which a preacher reminds the faithful of their duties, 14
- tafsīr*, exegesis, commentary on the Koran, 119, 210
- taḥḥīb al-akhḥāq*, 'polishing the moral faculties', which may lead to intellectual revelation, 193
- tāj*, 'crown', in Shia Islam a cap with twelve parts pointing to the twelve *imāms*, 54, 77; in Sufism the special headgear of a dervish
- tajdīd*, renovation, reform, 92
- tajrīd*, isolation, abstraction, 81
- takhallus*, pen-name, 102*
- tangai*, religious leader of the Māpilla, 63, 64
- tanzīh*, 'elimination of anthropomorphic elements from the concept of deity', abstract notion of God, as contrasted to *tashbīh*, 195, 234
- taqdīr*, predestination; God's fixing an appropriate share for every creature, 233
- taqlīd*, 'imitation', to follow one legal *madhhab*, but also imitation of any model, 81, 230
- taqiya*, dissimulation, often practised by the Shiites in order to escape persecution, 43, 55, 72, 89
- tarāwīḥ*, a set of supererogative prayers in the early night during Ramaḍān, 118
- ṭarīq*, 'path', *ṭarīq-i nubuwwat*, 'Path of prophethood', punctual fulfillment of religious duties, and *ṭarīq-i wilāyat* 'path of saintship', 183. See also *qurb*
- ṭarīqa*, path, mystical order or fraternity, 154, 155. *ṭ. muhammadiyya*, the Muhammadan Path, a fundamentalist movement in the Naqshbandi order, founded in 1734 by Nāṣir Muḥammad 'Andalīb of Delhi, important factor in the Indian Freedom Movement in the 19th century, 154, 155, 163, 181, 183, 190, 206, 208
- taṣawwūr-i shāikh*, to keep the image of one's mystical guide before one's eyes while meditating, a practice commonly used in the Naqshbandiyya, 190
- tashbīh*, anthropomorphism, contrary to *tanzīh*, 234
- taslīm*, complete surrender, 25
- tat twam asi*, 'That are you', the identity formula used in the Chandogya Upanishad, 235
- taṭbiq*, conciliation; Shāh Waliullāh's attempt to reconcile the legal schools and the mystical orders, 153
- tauba*, 'repentance', contrition; the first step on the mystical path, 87
- tauhīd*, 'to declare that God is one', monotheism, 81, 158, 160, 183, 231
- tawāf*, the circumambulation of the Ka'ba in Mecca, 42
- tawakkul*, absolute trust in God, 230
- ta'wīḍ*, amulet, usually prepared in a Sufi center, with Koranic formulas, magic squares and often strange-sounding words and unusual letters, 26
- ta'wīl*, allegorical interpretation, esoteric exegesis of the Koran, 72
- ta'ziya*, religious poetry, even in dramatic form, commemorating Husain's death in Kerbela 176; in India more frequently a replica of a tomb, often artistically decorated, which is perambulated during the Muharram festivities, 38, 120, 164, 175
- ta'zīr*, censure, 22
- terah tezi*, the thirteen unlucky days in the month of Ṣafar during which the Prophet contracted his fatal illness, 121
- tughra*, the highly decorated name of a ruler at the beginning of a document; then, every kind of writing that is done in an peculiar artistic form, such as a *basma* in the shape of a bird or a crown, or 'Alī's name with invocations in the shape of a lion, etc., 62, 108, 109
- ulamā*, ulema, the religious authorities in Islam, scholars of theology and law, upon whom the interpretation of the *shari'a* rests so that they are the true leaders of the community, 9,

- 11-13, 16, 18, 22, 23, 32, 39, 42, 45, 76, 81, 89, 99, 192, 193, 195, 196, 200, 204, 208, 218*, 219, 238, 240, 245, 246; *'ulamā-yi ākhirat*, those whose interest is directed toward the Other-world, also *'u. rabbānī*, 'divinely guided', 12; *'ulamā-yi sū'*, the evil or 'worldly' (*'u. ad-dunyā*) ulema who work hand in hand with the government and comply with a ruler's wishes, 12, 16
- ulūhiyyat*, Divinity, 92
- umma*, nation, community, especially Muhammad's *umma*, the Muslims, 92
- urdū-yi mu'allā*, 'the Sublime Porte' and the language spoken there
- urjūza*, Arabic poem in the meter *rajaz*, usually of anecdotic or didactic character, 64
- 'urs*, 'wedding', celebration of a saint's death anniversary when his soul was united with God, 133, 134, 138; of Bakhtīār Kākī, 25; of Salār Mas'ūd, 135, 136; in Ajmer, 130, 131
- uṣūl al-fiqh*, the roots of jurisprudence: Koran, *'sunna*, *qiyās* and *ijmā'*, 103
- virahinī*, the loving woman who is separated from her beloved, 139
- waḥdat ash-shuhūd*, 'Unity of Vision', testimonial unity, when the mystic reaches annihilation in God and experiences complete unity but realizes, after returning to himself, that this is only a personal experience, not an objective truth, for 'Everything is from Him', 93, 153
- waḥdat al-wujūd*, 'Unity of Being', existential unity, is experienced by the 'intoxicated' mystic who remains in a stage where he believes that 'Everything is He'. That is how Ibn 'Arabi's system was summed up in later mystical poetry, particularly in Iran, Turkey, and India, 23, 41, 42, 53, 67, 93, 94, 96, 98, 102, 153, 162, 223, 229, 236
- waḥy*, prophetic inspiration, 196
- wālī*, pl. *awliyā*, 'friend [of God]', saint. The saints form a welldefined hierarchy whose highest member is the *qutb*, 46
- waqf*, taxfree endowment for religious purposes, 18, 178
- wāqī'khwān*, a person who sings in Muharram of the events in Kerbelā, 125
- wārīdāt*, verses or thoughts which 'descend' upon the mystic, 162
- wasīya*, testament, will, admonition for a disciple, 157
- wilāyat*, province; in India particularly the area in which the power of a certain saint is active, 26, 27, 31. Also: 'sainthood', 161
- wird*, litany, repeated hundreds of times a day, 197
- yārhtn* (in Sindhi) 'eleven', memorial day for 'Abdulqadir Gīlānī, 121
- yāsīn*, Sūra 36 of the Koran, recited for a dying or deceased person, called 'the heart of the Koran', 6, 117
- zāhid*, 'ascetic', who renounces the world, 155
- Zaidites, moderate Shia group which follows Zaid ibn 'Alī ibn al-Husain (d. 740) and accepts as *imām* a person from either the Husani or the Husaini line, 1
- zakāt*, alms tax which to pay is one of the 'pillars of faith' 122, 182; *zakāt-i haqīqat*, in the Chishtīya, to place all one's belongings, including one's life, at the master's disposal, 26
- zamīndār*, landlord, 144
- zāwiya*, small, lonely place for a pious recluse, 26*
- zindarūd*, 'living stream', nom-de plume which Iqbāl assumes in his *Javīdnāme*, pointing to Goethe's poem *Mahomet's Gesang* in which the Prophet is symbolized as a living stream, 227
- zindīq*, heretic, unbeliever, 53, 186
- ziyārat*, visit to a shrine, often the shrine itself, 97*, 129
- zunnār*, 'the infidel's' girdle', the brahman's thread, sign of non-Muslims, used especially as a poetical symbol, 34

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